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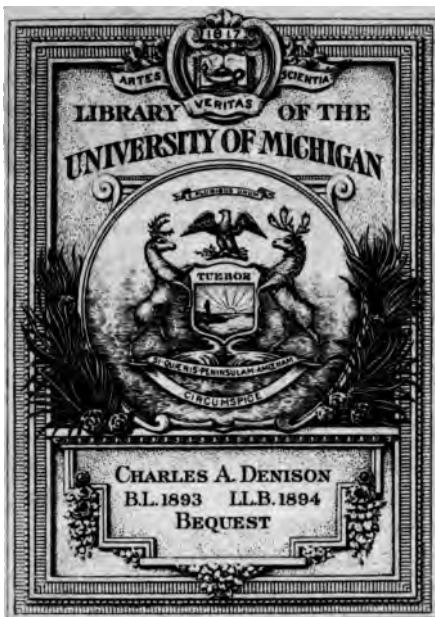
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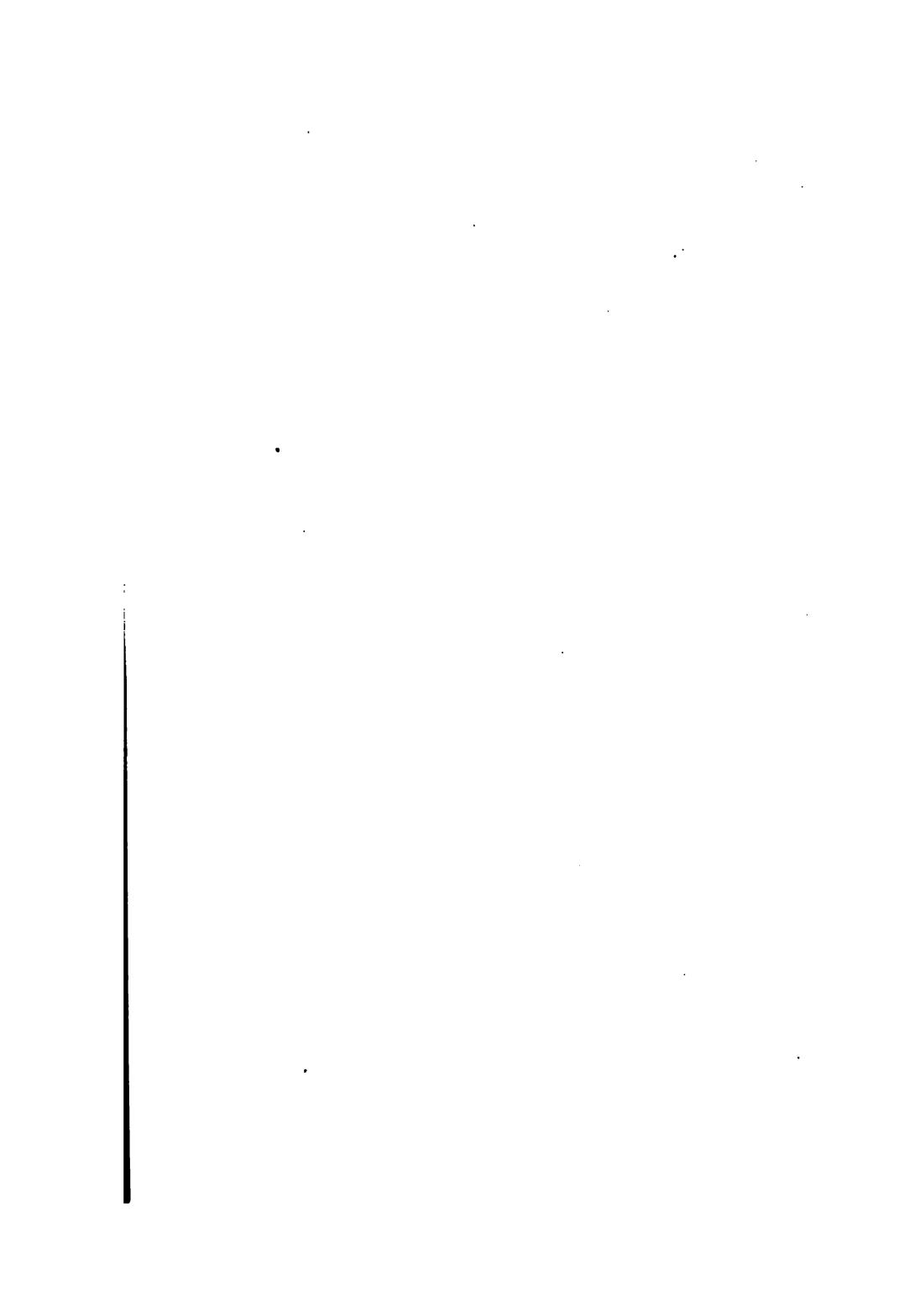
FIRST TWENTY YEARS  
OF  
AUSTRALIA

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Logo:

N.S.W. Corps.

William Balmain

W. Balmain, F.P., Sydney.

Lord. Provo<sup>st</sup> Smyth

Early Merchant.

Smyth, Provost Marshall, Sydney.

and John Blaxland.

 Discovery Ship  
1802.

John Blaxland, an early Free Settler.

Adjutant Minchin, 1804.

Discoverer of King George's Sound.



John Macmillan  
Priest.  
who sought to go out  
1787.

Commissary Miller, Sydney.

# FIRST TWENTY YEARS

OF

# AUSTRALIA.

January 26 1788 to January 1808.

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A History Founded on Official Documents.

BY

JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF

“THE LAST OF THE TASMANIANS,”

ETC., ETC.

London:

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE, & RIVINGTON

Melbourne and Sydney:

GEORGE ROBERTSON.

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## PREFACE.

THE story of the Early Days in Australia is one full of interest to many more than Australian settlers or the Australian born. It so differs from the tale to be told of present life there, as if centuries had passed in the interval.

Dark as the chronicle may be, it is highly instructive and suggestive. We have in that gloomy and often forbidding picture of humanity a means of gauging the immense social progress of the colonies. Even in the worst phases of society at that remote period we fail not to detect some bright and pleasing features, indications of that struggle between light and darkness which ultimately led to the opening day. We have seen men and women, steeped in vice and misery, from neglect of Church and of State in Europe, emerging from poverty and moral degradation into respectability and purity.

As some in America affect to be annoyed at any reference to the convict origin of not a few settlers in that part of the world, so some in Australia seem shocked at the supposition that bondsmen once dwelt beneath their sunny skies. Is it not rather to the honour of North America and the colonies of the South that they have been the happy means of transforming the neglected, ignorant, and criminal population of the British Isles into healthy, happy, virtuous citizens? Is it not a matter of honest pride that some of the descendants

of those unfortunates are now occupying influential and useful positions in both America and Australia?

The material for the present work was partly gathered in the colonies, but mainly derived from the fine Library of the Colonial Office, and from that interesting collection of National Archives, known as the London State Record Office. To the assistance of the Hon. Mr. Herbert, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, a devoted friend to Australia, the author was greatly indebted for access to such sources of information.

Among the means of research open to the student of colonial history, *Barrington's Voyage to New South Wales* has occupied an important place. It was published in 1795, at 20, Paternoster Row, for half-a-crown, and contained 140 pages. On the title-page it is stated that the author was then "Superintendent of Convicts at Parramatta." The *Sequel to Barrington's Voyage* appeared in 1800 from Lownde's shop, Drury Lane.

It is hardly necessary to say that Barrington was not the writer, but that the compiler got his facts from the works of Collins and Hunter. The celebrated pickpocket turned over a new leaf on his voyage out, as we learn from Captain King's letter, sent from the *Cape*, July 29th, 1791, "The convicts," says that naval commander, "on board the different ships have behaved extremely well, and Mr. Barrington is now a religious convict; he performs service, and gives a sermon twice a day on Sundays." He subsequently occupied a respectable position in the colony. By one account he died in 1803; another gives a later date.

Several old pamphlets are alluded to in the course of the present work. One of the most curious is that called *Slavery and Famine punishments for Sedition*. Printed in Cambridge, 1794, the preface, of 46 pages, was written by G. Dyer;

#### PREFACE.

while the rest of the pamphlet, 23 pages only, contains the Journal of George Thompson, Gunner on the *Royal Admiral*, who was in Sydney, during 1792.

Sydney itself has considerable literary treasures for the hunter after early records. But the three ORDERLY BOOKS were by far the most interesting to the writer. They look like common memorandum-books, or, in shape, like a carter's receipt-book. The length is about ten inches; the breadth, five; the thickness, three-quarters of an inch. The first written volume runs over a period between July 27th, 1802, and March 27th, 1803. The second gives the history from March, 1803, to January, 1804; and the third, from January 26th, 1804, to October, 1804. The first begins thus:—

“General Orders.	July 27th.	Tuesday.
P. ( <i>Parole</i> ) King.	C.S. ( <i>Countersign</i> ).	Parramatta.”

Then follows a brief record of the meeting of the Court, which consisted of the Judge-Advocate and two others.

The New South Wales Colonial Secretary's Office, at the time of the writer's visit, nearly twenty years ago, did not appear to have a succession of these books; but one, thicker and wider than the rest, is called the GENERAL ORDERLY Book, and treats of the time between March 8th, 1809, and January 1st, 1810. All these precious manuscripts were extracted, in the writer's presence, from a heap of rubbish and old documents, laden with the undisturbed dust of many years.

The books were not well kept, and were often very indifferently written. Neither Parole nor Countersign appeared from January 31st to February 6th. There were often great lapses. Sometimes the Countersign was given, but the Parole was omitted. All the Governor's *Public Orders* and

*Proclamations*, with other important news, were entered in the Orderly Books.

But the Despatches from the several Governors, the Orders transmitted to the Governors by the Home Ministry, with letters addressed to the Secretary of State from individuals interested in the colonial affairs of the period, furnished the author with the most reliable sources of information for the present work.

*Fac-similes* of the autographs of men distinguished in those primitive Australian times will not be unacceptable to those interested in the parties, or who fancy they can identify character by handwriting.

The object being to present history as revealed in documentary evidence, the less popular and pleasing form of extracts from Despatches has been preferred to that of a more easy and connected narrative. Although now nearly forty years since the appearance of his first work on Australian subjects, the Author hopes for fresh opportunities of making known to others the colonies so dear to his own heart.

*London, May 1st, 1882.*

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## ERRATUM.

In autograph sheet, for "Tench Port Phillip, 1803," read "Port Jackson, 1788."

## FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF AUSTRALIA.

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### HISTORY OF THE PERIOD.

AUSTRALIA, the southern land, was originally known as *New Holland*, from the discoveries of the Dutch. Held to be far from the bounds of civilization, an arid region inhabited by the lowest of savages, Europeans had no inducement to repeat their visit.

The discovery of a better coast than any seen by the Dutch was the work of Captain Cook. The eastern seaboard of New Holland, called by him *New South Wales*, was pronounced beautiful for scenery, delicious for climate, and bountiful for soil. And yet its distance and isolation forbade the thought of English emigrants seeking a home there. But the distance and isolation became recommendations in the eyes of statesmen when looking round for a penal settlement, upon the independence of the old transportation ground —the American colonies.

The selection of New South Wales, in New Holland or Australia, as the site of a penal establishment or colony, may be said to date from an official letter from Whitehall, which preceded Downing Street as the seat of Government. This communication was addressed “To my Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,” on August 18th, 1786.

It set forth the fact that the gaols were crowded, and

that it was necessary to ship off the prisoners somewhere, now that transportation could no longer be continued in the plantations of North America. The *Nautilus* sloop had been sent in search of a suitable locality along the south-west coast of Africa ; but, after an examination of the shore from lat. 15° to 33° S., the report intimated that the country was too barren for a settlement.

Then came the following important announcement :—“ **HIS MAJESTY HAS THOUGHT IT ADVISABLE TO FIX UPON BOTANY BAY.**” My Lords, therefore, are requested to furnish the means for the conveyance of a party thither.

But the question had been debated long before ; and the public opinion had been prepared for the adoption of New Holland, the eastern side thereof, and the very neighbourhood of Botany Bay. Discovered by Cook in 1770, it was eloquently described as a sort of paradise by his scientific companion, Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist. He spoke of there being there “ a series of beautiful meadows, abounding in the richest pastures.” Being in the finest part of the temperate zone, and only inhabited by a few savages, the country seemed marked by Providence for British colonization.

A curious pamphlet of four foolscap pages appeared, bearing the date of April 21st, 1785, which treated of the “ many advantages that may result to the nation from a settlement made on this coast of New South Wales.” It declared that Botany Bay had, in its vicinity, everything required. Taking Cook’s definition of New South Wales, from Cape Howe to Cape York, the writer says, “ The variety of climates included between the 49th and 10th degree of latitude gives us an opportunity of uniting in one territory almost all the productions of the known world.”

The way to colonize that new region is thus indicated :—“ At a time when men are alarmed at any idea of emigration, I wish not to add to their fears by any attempt to depopulate the parent State ; the settlers of New South Wales are

principally to be collected from the Friendly Isles and China ; all the people required from England are only a few that are possessed of the useful arts, and those comprised among the hands of the ships sent out on that service ; and the natives, no doubt, may in time be brought to unite in this society."

The writer saw there a refuge for the colonial Royalists who had been on the English side during the War of Independence ; observing, " The American Loyalists would find a fertile, healthy soil, far preferable to their own, and well worthy of their industry ; where, with a very small part of the expense the Crown must necessarily be at for their support, they may be established most comfortably." After this he plainly points out the suitability of the place as an asylum for prisoners. These are his words :—

" The heavy expense Government is annually put to for transporting and otherwise punishing the felons, together with the facility for their return, are evils long and much lamented. *There* is an asylum open, and will considerably reduce the first, and wholly prevent the latter."

" The proposal here submitted," says he, " offers a system more useful, more extensive and important in its consequences, than perhaps any hitherto attempted ; for, abstracted from all commercial and political motives, it most certainly tends to promote the Christian religion among thousands of our fellow-creatures, who, at present, are totally destitute of all rational worship ; and should it have the good fortune to obtain His Majesty's protection, it will add to his glory for ever."

At the end of this interesting pamphlet is a list of articles deemed necessary for the voyage and settlement. The sheet is declared " Printed by H. Reynell (No. 21) Piccadilly, near the Hay Market."

In 1787 a work of 250 pages was published, entitled *The History of New South Wales, from its first discovery in 1616 to the present time, with a particular account of its productions and inhabitants, and a description of Botany*

*Bay.*" The information of course is chiefly derived from *Cook's Voyages*. But some interest of the book lies in the *Introductory Discourse on Banishment*, by the Right Hon. William Eden. In the preface to this publication we have the following remarks :—

" Supposing that Government had chosen to embrace the single purpose of forming a settlement at Botany Bay, they would be justly censurable in inviting the industrious and respectable artizan to exchange his own happy soil for the possession of territory, however extensive, in a part of the world as yet so little known. But criminals, when their lives or liberties are forfeited to justice, become a *forlorn hope*, and have always been judged a fair subject of hazardous experiments, to which it would be unjust to expose the more valuable members of a State. If there be, therefore, any terrors in the prospect before the wretch who is banished to New South Wales, they are no more than he expects ; if the dangers of a foreign climate be considered as nearly equivalent to death, the devoted convict naturally reflects that his crimes have drawn on this punishment, and that offended justice, in consigning him to the inhospitable shore of New Holland, does not mean thereby to seat him for his life on a bed of roses. And yet, after all, this sentence will perhaps be in its effects more merciful than numbers of those who are the objects of it have either deserved or expected. The country of NEW WALES does not receive them in a bleak, hideous solitude, destitute of shelter from the fury of an inclement sky, like the frozen deserts of Siberia ; and such of those unhappy people as testify an amendment in their morals, or an inclination to embrace the profession of honest industry, will probably not be shut out from enjoying in some measure the comforts of life."

The writer then declares :—" The plan of forming a settlement in the environs of Botany Bay has been laid before Parliament, and unanimously approved."

The felons heard the news with pleasure, as this work implies ; for it remarks :—“ In the mean time, so sensible are the unhappy exiles, destined to make the experiment of agriculture on the soil of NEW WALES, so sensible are they of the mildness of their fate, and the clemency of that Government which has allotted them their present destination, that if it were possible for the most hardened to leave his native country, perhaps for ever, without feeling some regret, they may be said to have embraced this rigorous alternative, even with a degree of cheerfulness ; and, strange to tell, there have not been wanting voluntary candidates for banishment to that remote shore.”

Mr. Eden’s views are thus expressed :—

“ Every effect of banishment, as practised in England, is often beneficial to the criminal, and always injurious to the community. The kingdom is deprived of a subject, and renounces all the emoluments of his future existence. He is merely transferred to a new country ; distant, indeed, but as fertile, as happy, as civilized, [and in general as healthy, as that which he has offended. It deserves serious and immediate consideration how far, and by what means, this defect in our law may be redressed. It might, perhaps, be practicable to direct the strict employment of a limited number of convicted felons in each of the dockyards, in the stanneries, salt works, mines, and public buildings of the kingdom. The more enormous offenders might be sent to Tunis, Algiers, and other Mahometan ports, for the redemption of Christian slaves ; others might be compelled to dangerous expeditions, or be *sent to establish new colonies*, factories and settlements on the coast of Africa, and on small islands for the benefit of navigation.”

When it had been decided to send the expedition, the Ministry, as before mentioned, directed, on April 18th, 1786, the Treasury Lords to provide transports ; and on August 31st requested the Lords of the Admiralty to provide a convoy. The first list of rations was stated to be for 680

male convicts, 70 female ones, and 180 marines. This number, especially of women, was subsequently changed. The clothing for each man during a year was estimated at £2 19s. 6d. The salary of the Governor was to be £500; the Lieutenant-Governor, £250; the Commissary, £200; Surgeon, £182 10s.; Chaplain, £182 10s. The cost of the establishment from October 10th, 1786, to October 10th, 1789, was £8632.

There was some difficulty about the selection of the leader; and Lord Howe wrote, September 3rd, 1786, "I cannot say the little knowledge I have of Captain Phillip would have led me to select him for a service of this complicated nature." That gentleman took care of himself; for he asked drawback upon the following articles for his private use: 2 pipes of port, 104 dozen bottles of wine, 2 puncheons of rum, 12 barrels of porter, 20 cwt. of loaf-sugar, 40 decanters, and 34 dozen glasses. The numerous letters he sent to the Under-Secretary, Evan Nepean, Esq., prove his attention to wants for the voyage, and show his interest in the welfare of the prisoners.

"During the passage," he said, "when light airs or calms permit, I shall visit the transports to see that they are kept clean, and receive the allowance ordered by Government, and at these times shall endeavour to make them sensible of their situation, and that their happiness or misery is in their own hands." In an undated letter, he wrote:—"The laws of this country will, of course, be introduced into New South Wales, and there is one which I would wish to take place from the moment His Majesty's forces take possession of the country—that there can be NO SLAVERY IN A FREE LAND, and, consequently, NO SLAVES."

He was evidently more puzzled about the women than the men. "The women in general," remarked he, "I shall suppose possess neither virtue nor beauty." This ungallant admission being made, he has no scruple about his plans; viz.:—"It may be best if the most abandoned are permitted

to receive the visits of the convicts in the limits allotted them at certain hours, and under certain restrictions ; something of the kind was the case at Mill Hill Bank formerly. The rest of the women I should keep apart, by permitting the men to be in their company when not at work ; they will, I suppose, marry, in which case they should be encouraged, if they are industrious, by one day in the week more than the unmarried on their own lots of land. The natives may, it is probable, permit their women to marry and live with the men after a certain time." He thought he might supply the deficiency of wives by getting a cargo of coloured women from the Friendly Isles, and he would give land to soldiers who married any of the brown-skins.

His notions upon emancipation were severe, and he had no belief in a colony composed of criminals, or of those who had been bondsmen. From the very first he urged the transmission of a number of free settlers. "As I would not wish convicts to lay the foundations of an empire, I think they should *ever* remain separated from the garrison and other settlers that may come from Europe, and not be allowed to mix with them, even after the seven or fourteen years for which they are transported may be expired."

Lord Sydney gave him some liberty as to selection of locality ; writing, April 20th, 1787 :—"There can be no objection to your establishing any part of the territory or islands upon the coast of New South Wales, in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, which you may consider as more advantageously situated for the principal settlement ; but, at the same time, you must understand that you are not allowed to delay the disembarkation of the establishment on your arrival on the coast, upon the pretence of searching after a more eligible place than Botany Bay."

He received his commission April 27th, 1787. The other officers were Major Robert Ross, Lieutenant-Governor : Captain-Lieutenants, Meredith and Tench ; First Lieutenants, Johnstone, Poulden, Shairp, Davey, Timins, and Clarke ;

Second Lieutenants, Faddy and William Collins ; Judge-Advocate, David Collins ; Surgeon, Dr. White ; Commissary, Andrew Miller ; Surveyor, Augustus Alt ; Provost-Marshal, H. Brewer.

The *First Fleet* collected at last at Spithead, on May 13th, 1787. The *Sirius* frigate, Captain Hunter, carried the Lieutenant-Governor, Judge-Advocate, Adjutant, Quartermaster, sergeant, 3 drummers, 7 privates, 5 women, and 2 servants. The ship *Alexander* took the Chaplain, 210 male convicts, and 32 marines ; the *Scarborough*, 210 and 32 ; the *Charlotte*, 100 men, 40 marines, and 24 women ; the *Friendship*, 80 men, 40 soldiers, and 24 women ; the *Lady Penrhyn*, 102 women, and 40 soldiers ; the *Prince of Wales*, 25 men, 30 soldiers, and 25 women. The Governor sailed in the *Supply* man-of-war. The *Borrowdale*, *Golden Grove*, and *Fishburn* had provisions, tools, &c. There were 197 marines, with 28 wives, and 17 children. Belonging to the prisoner class were 558 men, 192 women, and 18 children. The total number was 1015. The number given at Rio, September 2nd, was 552 male convicts, 190 female, and 14 children.

The Sydney *Colonist* of 1835 records the death of one who came by the first fleet :—"Died at the Governor's Dairy, Parramatta, July 25th, 1835, Elizabeth Eccles, aged 105 years. She arrived in the first fleet at the age of 57, and has resided ever since in Parramatta, excepting the time of her going to England to see the Prince Regent, who settled upon her a small pension for life. She was born on the 18th of September, 1730, at Stratford-on-Avon." The writer of this work had the pleasure, at Parramatta, of conversing with the first born Australian, Mrs. Oakes.

The Governor arrived at Botany Bay, January 18th, 1788, in the *Supply*. Other vessels came the day after, and the *Sirius* brought the remainder on the 20th. Captain Phillip's despatch was sent off May 15th. The following are extracts therefrom :—

" I began to examine the bay as soon as we anchored, and

found that, though extensive, it did not afford shelter to ships from the easterly winds. I did not see any situation to which there was not some very strong objection. "Seeing," said he, "the possibility of the swamps rendering the most eligible situation unhealthy, I judged it advisable to examine Port Jackson. I went round with three boats, taking with me Captain Hunter and several other officers, that by examining different parts of the port at the same time, less time might be lost. We got into Port Jackson early in the afternoon, and had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbour in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security. The different coves were examined with all possible expedition. I fixed on the one that had the best spring of water, and in which the ships can anchor close to the shore. This cove, which I honoured with the name of *Sydney*, is about a quarter of a mile across at the entrance, and half a mile in length. We returned to Botany Bay the third day."

Though January 26th was the date of settlement, the Government was founded in February. To use the words of Captain Phillip afterwards:—"On a space previously cleared, the whole colony was assembled, the military drawn out, and under arms; the convicts stationed apart, and near the Governor those who were to hold the principal offices under him. The Royal Commission was read by the Judge-Advocate, D. Collins." The Governor had jurisdiction over New South Wales, from Cape York to lat.  $43^{\circ} 29'$ , and westward as far as long.  $135^{\circ}$ .

An officer, whose pamphlet appeared in 1789, wrote that on the landing, "His Majesty's ships *Sirius* and *Supply* fired three royal salutes, each soldier had a pint of porter, every convict under displeasure was pardoned, each man had a pint of rum, and each woman half a pint; and wood being plenty, they made bonfires in the evening." Captain Collins, the first Judge-Advocate, has left a poetical description of the first location:—

"The spot chosen for this purpose was at the head of the Cove, near the run of fresh water, which stole silently along through a very thick wood, the stillness of which had then, for the first time since the Creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe, and the downfall of its ancient inhabitants; a stillness and tranquillity which were, from that day, to give place to the voice of labour, the confusion of camps and towns, and the busy hum of its new possessors."

The French discovery ships, under La Perouse, came in while the ships lay in Botany Bay. On the shore were laid the remains of a deceased priest, over which a monument was erected forty years after. The French officers were kindly received and helped by Captain Phillip, who exacted a promise that no convicts would be taken on board for sailors. Yet, as one says, "the French officers listened to the proposals of two fair shop-lifters, who were missed two days after the Frenchmen had sailed." Perouse was wrecked on Mallicolo Isles, as ascertained many years after by Captain Dillon.

An inventory of live stock, by Commissary Miller, is dated May 1st, 1788. Government then possessed 1 stallion, 2 mares, 2 bulls, 2 cows, 1 ram, 12 ewes, 1 goat, 1 boar, and 19 sows. Captain Phillip claimed 1 mare, 3 colts, 2 cows, 3 wethers, 1 ewe, 1 lamb, 10 hogs, 3 rabbits, 5 turkeys, 8 geese, 17 ducks, 22 fowls; and the Lieutenant-Governor, 1 goat, 1 hog, 5 turkeys, 6 geese, 4 ducks, and 9 fowls. The marines had 1 cow, 12 goats, 10 hogs, 17 pigs, 2 rabbits, 6 turkeys, 9 geese, 8 ducks, 35 fowls, and 25 chickens. The gentlemen on the Staff possessed 11 sheep, 5 goats, 7 hogs, 1 pig, 2 turkeys, 6 geese, 6 ducks, 36 fowls, and 62 chickens. Other persons had 1 hog among them. Altogether there were 1 stallion, 3 mares, 3 colts, 2 bulls, 5 cows, 29 sheep, 19 goats, 49 hogs, 25 pigs, 5 rabbits, 18 turkeys, 29 geese, 35 ducks, 122 fowls, and 87 chickens.

The seal of the infant colony was designed to encourage

the well-doing. On the obverse were the royal arms. The reverse displayed the landing of a party of prisoners, who were being welcomed by *Industry*, with tools and a bale of merchandize, and while striking off their fetters, points them to the work of ploughing going on. The legend was *Sic fortis Etruria crevit*, alluding to the rise of Rome. This seal was brought out to Sydney by the *Gorgon*.

It is amusing to read a letter written home by Lieutenant-Governor Major Ross, July 10th, 1788, evidently addressed to the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Nepean, though written confidentially:—

“I will in confidence venture to assure you that this country will never answer to settle in, for though I think corn will grow here, yet I am convinced that if ever it is able to maintain the people sent here, it cannot be in less time than, perhaps, one hundred years hence. I, therefore, think it will be cheaper to feed convicts on turtles and venison at the London Tower than be at the expense of sending men here.”

Major Ross wrote a most beautiful hand, though in very small characters. He kept up the same tune in his letter of November 16th, 1788; saying:—

“In the whole world there is not a worse country than what we have yet seen. All that is contiguous to us is so very barren and forbidding, that it may with truth be said, ‘Here Nature is reversed.’ And if not so, she is nearly worn out, for almost all the seeds we have put in the ground have rotted, and I have no doubt but will, like the wood of this wild country, when burnt or rotten, turn to sand.” He hopes the Secretary of State will send out no more. “If he does,” adds the Major, “I shall not scruple to say that he will entail misery on all that are sent.”

Governor Phillip was far from being comfortable under the trying circumstances of his reign, especially from the famine that set in there. In April, 1790, he requested leave to return, professedly on account of business. He then implores

it because of sickness. The Secretary of State, October 11th, 1792, regretted his ill-health, but had no word of relief. On February 19th, 1791, a letter was sent from Whitehall to say that Major Ross was to be succeeded by Major Grose. That appointment opened the way for his own departure December 11th, 1792.

Born in London, 1738, though of a German father, Mr. Phillip became a lieutenant in the Navy in 1761, and post-captain in 1781; he married in 1763. Upon his return he received a pension of £400, which he enjoyed till his decease in 1814. It was pleasant to be assured by the Ministry of "the zeal which you have at all times manifested for the public service." Dr. Lang, while admitting that Captain Phillip was "punctilioseously jealous of the respect due to his station," calls him "a man of real benevolence, who had the welfare of the colony he governed so deeply at heart." Dr. Braim acknowledges "his rigorous conduct united with patient forbearance," and "his temperate, judicious, liberal, and patient labour." He declares that "this brave man deserves, in more senses than one, the endearing, the ennobling epithet of the *Father* as well as *Founder* of the colony."

Major Grose began with hopefulness, remarking in his first letter, in 1792, "I have seen no place I like better than this." Major Ross, who wrote to the same person, Mr. Nepean, had before said, "There is not an article that can ever be necessary for the use of man but which must be imported into this country." Major Grose, whose old wounds tried him in the warmer climate, was succeeded as Acting Governor by Colonel Paterson.

Captain Hunter, who had commanded the *Sirius* from 1787 to 1792, and who wrote, in 1793, his interesting work on the colony, received the appointment of Governor, and arrived at Sydney September 7th, 1795. He was, from the beginning, involved in disputes with the officers of the New South Wales Corps, and suffered at last, from their opposition and slander, the disgrace of a virtual dismissal. This, which followed a

letter of complaint founded on slanderous reports, was conveyed in the following despatch, March 9th, 1799 :—

“To express my disapprobation of the manner in which the Government of the Settlement has been administered by you in many respects, I am commanded to signify to you the king’s pleasure to return by the first conveyance which offers itself after the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor King.”

The reply to the first complaint displays the natural indignation of a virtuous mind. It was dated November 15th, 1799, before the dismissal arrived.

“It is not in my power, my lord, to furnish language sufficiently expressive of my extreme astonishment and sincere regret at the contents of your Grace’s separate letter of the 26th of February last, written, I find, in consequence of the appearance of an anonymous letter from this country, in which I am accused of conniving at, if not participating in, that mean species of trade which has so often been with me subject of complaint to your Grace, and which I have so long in vain been struggling to suppress. The dark and infamous assassin, whose production that letter is supposed to be, from the specimens I have already known of his diabolical departure from truth, I can believe capable of vilifying the immaculate character of his God.”

Referring to the forty-six years’ service of a life, “never yet stained by one mean, base, or dishonourable action,” he asks, “Can it be believed that a man possessing a single spark of virtuous principle could be prevailed on, through any latent object, any avaricious view, by any act so mean, so low, so contemptible, as that of which this anonymous villain has dared to suppose me capable?” He demands that the secret letter be made public.

It was in vain, after his return, that he sought justice. Writing to Lord Hobart, June 7th, 1802, from Cornhill, he asks if he “may hope to be placed on the establishment of the Settlement for a consideration or provision for my past services and future support.” In a subsequent memorial he

prayed "that as he is so far from having added to his private fortune by his zealous service in New South Wales, that he has little more than his half-pay as a captain in the Navy to subsist upon, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to confer upon him such mark of your Majesty's favor as may be judged fit." This procured him, October 15th, 1802, a reply from Mr. Addington, conferring upon him £300 a-year.

His successor, Captain King, bore this testimony of him :— "His public conduct has been guided by the most upright intentions, and that he has been most shamefully deceived by those upon whom he had every reason to depend for assistance and advice." Dr. Lang styled him "a man of sound judgment, of strictly virtuous principles, and of warm benevolence."

An illustrative story is given of him when commanding a frigate. One of the men fell overboard. The ship was stopped to rescue the poor fellow. In going about, however, the vessel missed stays and was lost. When tried before the court-martial, he made this noble apology :—"I regard the life of an English sailor of more value to His Majesty than a man-of-war."

It was during his time that coal was discovered by a fishing party, 1796, at the mouth of the river Hunter. A settlement was subsequently made there, under Lieutenant Menzies, in 1804.

Captain King, who had been in charge of Norfolk Island in 1788, arrived to relieve Governor Hunter, April 16th, 1800, though not assuming the Government till Captain Hunter's departure, September 28th, and ruled for six years. He was in constant hot water with his officials, being impetuous though kind-hearted. Before his departure, 1806, he received an address from the Free Settlers.

A despatch, in July, 1805, was welcomed by Captain King, as it said, "I cannot withhold the expression of my satisfaction at the good order and tranquillity which you represent to prevail throughout your Government." Before he left, Lord

Castlereagh received the royal command "to express His Majesty's entire approbation of the conduct of Governor King, as manifested in the important charge committed to him."

The administration of affairs was now in fair condition. The Court of Civil Jurisdiction was under the Judge-Advocate. The Court of Criminal Jurisdiction consisted of the Judge-Advocate, the magistrates and officers, who decided upon the verdict with closed doors. The quarrel between the officers and Atkins, the Judge-Advocate, precipitated the rebellion of 1808. Mr. Collins, the first Judge-Advocate, returned home in 1793, afterwards becoming the first Governor of Van Diemen's Land. The Provost-Marshal acted as Sheriff. The Registry of Deeds was established November 13th, 1800.

Captain Bligh, who came in 1806, had gained no enviable character for harshness, if not for despotism, in connection with the celebrated mutiny of the *Bounty*. But the courage and piety he displayed under his sufferings gained him much sympathy. He found fault with the state of things existing in the colony, and adopted too hasty and violent measures in his scheme of reformation. He uses this language in his despatch of September 30th, 1807 :—

"It is an infinite satisfaction to say that from the distressful situation, in every respect, in which I found the colony, it is now raising its head to my utmost satisfaction. In the interior I feel that the same emulation exists among the inhabitants; and their industry materially increasing, great exertions have been made to till the land, and the ensuing harvest promises well. The discontented are checked in their machinations, while the honest settler feels himself secure, and the idler no encouragement."

We may suppose he pleased the country people, for on January 1st, 1808, as he afterwards informed the Secretary of State, "under an impression of what I had done for them, I received a dutiful address, signed by nearly nine hundred persons, which was never known in this country before." But this did not prevent the rebellion of the soldiery, and the

deposition of the Governor. The story of this fall is detailed in the chapter on the "New South Wales Corps." The rebellion terminated to a day the *First Twenty Years of Australian Settlement*.

#### EARLY VOYAGE TROUBLES.

No stories of the first period of the colony are more painful than those associated with the outward voyage. In these steam days the time is short; well found and well disciplined ships are common; provisions are as varied as they are plentiful; accommodations are not only decent, but pleasant; sanitary arrangements disarm the voyage of many terrors encountered of old.

The worst system ever adopted was that in which the Ministry fancied they relieved themselves of all responsibility. By paying shippers so much a head for the voyage, they made no provision for the due performance of the contract. The voyages were often much more tedious from the miserable vessels engaged. The food was scanty and bad. Ventilation was ignored. Discipline was lax or brutal. It was to the interest of merchants that the number of rations be reduced. Every death on the voyage was a gain of so many pounds. The officers on board were often partners in the traffic, personally interested in landing as few as possible.

The convicts in the first fleet, under Governor Phillip, and medically tended by Dr. White, were fairly provided for by Government before starting. In fact, a letter from Santa Cruz, June 5th, 1787, declares that the health of the poor creatures had greatly improved in that short distance. Surgeon White was able to report from Rio that, of a thousand on his vessels he had lost but sixteen, between May 13th and September 1st.

Under the contract system it was otherwise. It is calculated that during the first eight years at least one-tenth died

on the way. A much larger proportion suffered in health, and died after landing. "It was distressing," says Captain Collins, "to see the poor creatures daily dropping into the grave." By the regulations, the convicts were allowed, ten at a time, to take exercise upon deck; and yet, on one plea or another, days and even weeks passed without their deliverance from the hold.

Governor Phillip was deeply moved at the condition of those landed at Port Jackson; "so emaciated," wrote he, "so worn away by long confinement or want of food, or from both these causes." He officially reported the death of no less than 169 out of 1695. On July 17th, 1790, he sent home the report of Colonial Surgeon White, which stated:—"Of the 939 males, sent out by the last ships, 261 died on board, and 50 have died since landing. The number of sick this day is 450, and many who are not reckoned as sick have barely strength to attend to themselves. Such is our present state; and when the last ships arrived we had not 60 people sick in the colony." He had the unfortunates placed under tents, and did his utmost for their relief; but though accustomed to the sight of human suffering, the worthy doctor fairly broke down in his grief at the recital of long tales of sorrow.

The three ships bringing to Port Jackson this accumulation of misery were, the *Surprise*, the *Scarborough*, and the *Neptune*. The last ship lost 164 persons. And yet for each of the convicts taken on board, Government had paid the contractors £17 7s. 6d. This was in 1790. A writer in April, 1792, mentions that out of 152 landed from the *Queen Charlotte* the year before, only 50 were then alive; famine on shore hastened the end of those so enfeebled by bad treatment on the voyage. As late as 1802, a vessel lost 66 convicts after leaving Cape Town, taking not less than 82 days to reach Sydney from the Cape. Captain Hill, referring to the suffering he beheld, exclaimed to a friend, "I shall never recover my accustomed vivacity and spirits."

The real or pretended attempts at mutiny intensified the misery of the passage. The poor wretches might well have complained of hard fare and hard usage,—stowed below in fetid quarters, half-clad, lying in wet places with insufficient covering, or absolutely destitute of it, stripped of the few comforts which had been provided by friends, bullied by brutal officers, beaten without cause, conscious of exposure to disease and death, helpless and hopeless in their half-starved condition. Did they complain, the remonstrance was made the ground for inflicting fresh tortures. Chains and floggings added to their horrors.

Governor Hunter humanely suggested to the Secretary of State that a naval officer should be sent in each vessel, to whom the convicts could appeal under any neglect. But the Ministry were then deaf to anything but the roar of cannon. After mentioning the case of a ship, in 1795, on which the people were put in irons during the whole voyage, he says it was "in consequence of some *conjecture* that they meant to seize the ship and murder the officers. They look most wretched from their long confinement." Many instances are recorded by Surgeon White of finding, on his visit to convict vessels on arrival, dead bodies below still in irons. Among the articles required for one ship were 36 pairs of handcuffs, and 200 bazzels with chains.

The Governors did what they could to punish the perpetrators of cruelty on board. In October, 1802, the captain of the *Hercules* was put upon trial for shooting a number of convicts, when he suspected they meant to get up a mutiny. Found guilty, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500 to the Sydney Orphan School.

One of the most serious attempts at mutiny occurred on board the *Marquis of Cornwallis* in 1796. Captain Hogan received information that a number had sworn by the Holy Ghost they would kill the officers, and then take the ship to America. Most of the convicts were Irish, and an Irishman gave information of his fellows.

The captain relates the story. He called soldiers and crew together, and told what Pat Hines had revealed. "They were," said he, "unanimously of opinion that the ringleaders should be punished, and it was not without much difficulty I was able to get their lives spared, by promising the seamen and the honest part of the soldiers that each man should take his part in flogging them at the gangway."—"At 11 o'clock we commenced flogging these villains at the gangway, and continued engaged on that disagreeable service till 42 men and 8 women received their punishment."

He then goes on to say:—"On the 22nd, at 9 p.m., I heard dreadful cries in the prison, and found those who had not been punished were murdering those that gave any information, which were now above twenty,—too many to keep on deck. To rescue these from the vengeance of the others, I was obliged to fire amongst them with blunderbusses and pistols; and, on appeasing their rage, I hauled out some of the fellows they were destroying, almost speechless. Some of the convicts were killed on this occasion, but many of them dangerously wounded. On this day, punishments being over and sufficient proof being established against the sergeant, corporal, and James Bullock, as will appear by the following informations, I ordered them to be chained together and put into the convicts' prison, on convicts' allowance, with an intent to prosecute them before the Civil and Military Court at New South Wales." The trial took place in March, and the magistrates approved of the captain's conduct.

A better day dawned when the Government altered the arrangements, and exercised more supervision. A premium paid to the officers in charge for the number landed in health did much to remedy the evil. But the thoughtful and benevolent work of Mrs. Fry and her committee of ladies was even more effectual. An inspection of each ship before starting afforded an opportunity for the examination of stores, with a view of the bedding and clothing, as well as for the

administration of good advice, and gifts of books and bodily comforts.

The voyage-life exercised a great influence upon the settlement. Improved conditions on board inspired the convicts with hope, and a commencement was made in moral progress, which told upon the after years in New South Wales. A healthier community was the result of a reform in the passage.

#### DAYS OF FAMINE.

No record of the early years of Australia can pass over the sad story of privation that tried our colonists. It is easy to blame after the event, and accuse the Government of gross and culpable neglect, and the people of a lack of energy and common sense. The home authorities had, it is true, shown an indifference to the comfort of their exiled subjects, if not a cruel disregard of their sufferings. There was no public sentiment to stimulate official activity in the cause of justice and humanity in those pre-Exeter Hall and Penny Press times. The urgent and even the affecting appeals of the first Governors came to ears occupied with home complaints, or deafened by the roar of cannon over half the world.

That the Governors did so little themselves is singular enough. But it was scarcely likely that mere naval men could interest themselves in agriculture. The unfortunate convicts behaved like young birds in a nest waiting to be fed. They cared nothing in their stolid ignorance, their reckless helplessness, or their sullen despair. The woods were not ransacked for roots, fruits, or animal life; the rivers and seas were not searched for food. The ground was but tickled with the hoe, and the very rudest efforts were made with feebleness. The want of vessels, the miserable length of voyages, the collapse of official arrangements by disastrous wreck of storeships, all concurred in intensifying the misery of the famine.

The first fleet carried a fair supply of provisions, though sufficient care was not taken to maintain the continuity of supply. The discovery of the poorness of soil around Sydney induced Governor Phillip to send off a small party to the fertile Norfolk Island, that food might be raised there. Governor Hunter hurried off a batch of 280 in a bad time. The *Sirius* had been despatched at once to the Cape, and returned with 127,000 lbs. of flour. The Governor nobly surrendered a private stock of three hundred-weight, and would accept of no better rations, and no greater quantity thereof, than that the convicts received. Such conduct, more than the presence of the military, restrained the men from excesses in their sufferings.

But it was necessary to guard against the robbing of the public store. In January, 1789, some soldiers were caught in the act, and seven of them were hanged for what was then the chief of crimes. Vessels were despatched to Batavia and India for rice, wheat, or other grain, but the supply was long in arriving, and the amount was trifling for the need. Fisheries were established with the boats at command, though there was a grievous want of hooks, lines, and nets.

The year 1790 was full of melancholy stories. In February it was reported that only four months' rations remained, even on a calculation of half-rations. The *Juliana* at last arrived, after a voyage of ten months, and brought the sad intelligence of the loss of the *Guardian* store-ship. Meanwhile, as it was expected that vessel would have brought an ample supply, 200 more females had been put on board the *Juliana*.

The *Guardian* was wrecked at the Cape. In a long letter by Captain Riou, afterwards killed at Copenhagen, to the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Evan Nepean, from Table Bay, May 26th, 1790, particulars of the disaster were communicated. When run ashore, after collision with an iceberg, he had caused an inquiry to be made. "Convinced now," said he, "that no possibility existed of repairing the ship, nothing remained for me to do but to put an end to

the useless expense of keeping her afloat. I, therefore, after having cleared her, and taken out the bowsprit and two remaining lower masts, hauled her on the ground in the most secure part of the bay, that she might serve for the habitation of the officers and crew ; but I fear she will not continue such, as the season is approaching which will render it impossible for anybody to remain on board." He professed not to know what to do with the stores, as the Dutch asked a very high price to put them under cover. The meat was good ; the rice, sugar, medicines, and clothes were spoilt ; though there were 200 casks of good flour, and the despatches were safe. He sent on by other vessels calling, 400 tierces of beef and 200 of pork, but objections were raised by the captains to the taking of other things.

As ships continued to pour in fresh convicts, the anxieties of officials increased. The dreadful mortality on board vessels was now viewed as a blessing to the settlement, as there was a lessened demand on the stores. Rations were a weekly allowance in April, 1790, of 2½ lbs. of flour, 2 of rice, and 2 of salt pork. These were afterwards reduced when the sad news came that the *Sirius*, the mainstay of the settlement, had been wrecked on Norfolk Island. The arrival of the *Juliana* in June might well be viewed with joyful feelings.

To add to the misfortune, no rain fell from June to November. All public work was suspended, for half-starved men could not be expected to labour. An officer, insisting upon keeping his dogs, was thus answered by Captain Phillip, "Kill your dogs, sir, and I will order you a pig from the store." A story is told of a banquet at Government House, to which each officer brought his own bread, one carrying in his little loaf on the point of his sword.

Norfolk Island suffered very severely in 1790 ; there being seven to eight hundred on very short rations. Major Ross was then the Lieutenant-Governor there. On March 19th he issued this *Order* :—" All persons, as well soldiers as others, the inhabitants of the Isle of Norfolk, are hereby prohibited from

killing stock of any kind whatever, without consent of the Government, under the penalty of immediate death by hanging." A Council was summoned the day after, and consequent upon the loss of the *Sirius* martial law was proclaimed. All provisions were claimed public property, "the whole to be equally divided among all ranks"; and, "half allowance until it is known what can be saved from the wreck of the *Sirius*." It is declared:—"All marauding or plundering either of public or private property will be deemed capital crimes."

The rations were reduced to only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of flour, 1 of rice, and 17 oz. of pork a-week for each man. An unexpected source of relief came, and continued for three or four months to supply some flesh food. This was the visit of sea-birds to the land for the laying of their eggs. They scratched holes in the soil of Mount Pitt, in which to deposit eggs. Unable to rise readily with their long wings when once alighted, they were easily captured by the half-starving settlers. The body was the size of a penguin, but the egg as large as that of a duck. No pork was given out while the birds—truly called *Birds of Providence*—continued their nightly visits. Prolongation of this famine, no help coming from Sydney, led to the following proclamation, August 7th, 1790:—

"Whereas the distressful state in which this settlement has been for four months past, and still continues to be in, from there not being at this time more provisions in store, at the most reduced allowance that is possible for people to subsist on, for more than twelve weeks from this date, and as there is not the most distant hope of relief from the deplorable state in which we are left, except by our industry and utmost exertions in getting land ready for the reception of corn, potatoes, and other vegetable productions which may be judged most fit for us to subsist upon, and as this is all work that for some time past it has been found necessary to employ the troops upon, it cannot be expected that this settlement should any longer continue any proportion of provisions to any person whatever, either male or female, who does not to the utmost

of their power and strength continue their share of labour to the general clearing and cultivating land . . . any person . . . should refuse or neglect to perform such work to the utmost of their ability . . . adjudged to suffer death." In like manner it was proclaimed that the secreting of food would expose a person to the like penalty of death.

In Sydney, because of the famine, labour was at a standstill. On Norfolk Island the population, equally enfeebled by small rations, were driven to labour. By the shores of Port Jackson famine held on its painful course, while plenty rapidly blessed the diligent who tilled the lots upon the volcanic isle. In a private letter to the Secretary of State, on August 29th, 1790, the Major, while grateful to Heaven, was not unmindful of his own plans, and had no anxiety about the future then.

"If Providence," said he in this semi-official communication, "had not wrought a miracle in our favour (sending the mutton birds), there would have been but few of us found alive when those ships arrived to our relief. . . . I have established such a plan which, if pursued, will render it unnecessary ever to send any flour here. On the contrary, in one year from the first of next January, the island will be able to spare grain for exportation, provided there is not more than 700 people kept on the island."

But troubles followed the islanders for awhile. The crops suffered—2 acres by blight, and 21 by caterpillars. But there were 32 acres of good maize, while 10 acres gave 1800 bushels of potatoes. There were 900 vines planted. Bananas and sugar-cane were found to do very well, though strawberries failed from the heat. The Major complained of the destitute state of the Marines, saying, "Not one of them has a shoe to their feet, nor scarce a shirt to their backs—not a pot to every twelve men—not a bed or blanket amongst them." He set to work and got coarse clothes made of flax for home use.

Lieutenant King, known afterwards as Governor Captain King, succeeded the Major on the island. At the end of

1791 he had to write:—"I have thought proper to order a reduction to be made in the allowance to two-thirds, letting women and children remain at their usual allowance." This was great kindness to the weaker ones. The flour again falling short, an *Order*, February 18th, 1792, made the ration of it 3 lbs. for males, and 2 for females. Provisions after this increased in production. Fresh pork was brought to market in the island at sixpence a pound, and even 60 lbs. of sugar were made without a mill. Governor Hunter, July 1st, 1798, was able to report:—"The number of swine on the island being more than sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants," he proposed to the settlers to purchase this surplus if they would salt it down, "and warrant its keeping a certain time;" but he says, "it seems they have not sufficient salt-pans, nor have they saltpetre and sugar for properly curing it."

At Port Jackson the famine was more severe and lasted longer. It was with real apprehension Governor Phillip wrote in October, 1791, "For sixteen weeks scarcely any rain." The constant attempts to rob the store led him to exclaim, "The throes of hunger will ever prove too powerful for integrity to withstand." In November of that year, 1791, numbers were prostrated by sickness; 400 at Parramatta alone. It was reported:—"To the number of sick at Parramatta upwards of 100 may be added, who were so weak that they could not be put to any kind of labour, not even to that of pulling grass for thatching the huts. Forty-two convicts died in the month of November, and in those people nature seemed fairly to be worn out; many of them were so thoroughly exhausted that they expired without a groan, and apparently without any kind of pain."

It was on December 15th, 1791, that Captain Phillip wrote:—"The very long drought, the reduced ration, and which, when not so very low as to render the people incapable of labour, served as a too well-founded excuse for their doing but very little work." It was a most trying situation for the Governor. In the despatch of March 29th, 1792, he thus described the

colony :—"It has been on a reduced ration since November, 1789. Rice was served for a short time to make up a deficiency of other articles, but it was rice which was too bad to have been issued but in a case of necessity. I should not refer to this subject, but that the settlement does not get forward as it otherwise would do." Poor fellow ! he feared to excite the wrath of the London magnates, and put the case as mildly as he could. Who could expect progress under such circumstances ?

Ships brought supplies from the Cape and India for a time, so that full rations were issued in July, 1792. These were, for the week : 4 lbs. of maize, 3 soujee, 7 beef, half pint of rice, and 3 pints of peas. A few months before the Governor wrote :—"The ration now issued is : To a man for seven days, 5 lbs. of flour, and 4 lbs. of pork ; at which ration we have flour for 52 days." That was different from what, in after years, the present writer gave to his own convict servants, viz. : 12 lbs. of fresh meat, 10 of flour,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of tea, besides sugar, raisins, &c. When the *Atlantic* came in from Bengal, in 1792, only 13 days' supply of flour remained. But both beef and pork brought by it were very bad. Still, it was encouraging to report in October sufficient for 96 days at a weekly ration of 2 lbs. of flour, 5 of rice, and 3 of peas. The December ration was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wheat,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  rice, 3 pints of dholl, 7 beef or 4 pork.

Clothes, though very deficient in quantity, were not so needed as food. But Governor Phillip, June 26th, 1792, spoke of "not a month's wear" in store. Yet he counselled the Ministry to forward ready-made garments, for the convict tailors and tailoresses were not to be entrusted with the stuff for manufacture. As he remarked :—"Frocks, trousers, shirts, shifts, gowns, and petticoats might, I presume, be made in India for this colony, and by introducing one stripe of a different colour from the rest, prevent what is intended for the convicts from being sold to the soldier or the settler."

The year 1793 began well ; but in October an *Order* proclaimed, "The dholl being expended, half a pint of molasses will be issued." On the day after Christmas we read, "The flour being *all* expended at Sydney," the ration was 3 wheat, 5 maize, 2 pints of peas, and 2 of gram. The latter is a grain usually given to horses. In the work by Captain Collins we have the picture of the misery of having no flour, and no proper means for grinding. "The quantity that was now to be ground," said he, "and the numbers who brought grain to the mill, kept it employed all the night as well as the day ; and as, from the scarcity of mills, every man was compelled to wait for his turn, the day had broke and the drum beat for labour before many who went into the mill-house at night had been able to get their ration-corn ground."

The next year gave the same miserable story of want. The Governor, in the despatch, April 29th, 1794, notes a special Providence in the arrival of the *Williams* ; "as *all* our provisions were issued from the store six hours before she appeared in sight." However, as the maize crop was nearly ripe, he saw they were secure "from any other distress than that of being forced to live on bread alone." He assures the Secretary of State that "the flour sent from England had been expended some months." The *Dedalus* store-ship brought salt meat. It was a melancholy source of satisfaction that so many died in the second fleet. "Had not such numbers died," wrote Collins, "both on the voyage and since the landing of those who survived the voyage, we should not at this moment have had anything to receive from the public stores." But, alas ! for the credit of human nature, Barrington's account declares that "the distresses of the colony did not seem to make any amendment in the morals of the convicts."

One mode of relief was urged in London by a person who thus appealed to the British Ministry :—"The aid I ask of Government is an exclusive privilege or lease of the southern part of New Zealand, or that south of Dusky Bay, drawing

the line in the same parallel of latitude across the east side of the island." He asks for a seven years' lease, to be renewed for twenty years. Cook had discovered New Zealand, which must, in consequence, become a British possession; for no one bothered about the rights of the natives living there. Our memorialist intended fishing for one of his speculations, and sought to interest the Secretary of State in his scheme, as it would benefit the colony; the fisheries being, as he said, "capable of affording to the public stores once a week a ration of good salt fish, at one penny per pound less cost than a meat ration, calculated at the prime cost in England with freight." But this patriotic and benevolent gentleman did not thus secure the half of the southern island of New Zealand, and the Maories there were left in peace for another half-century.

Lieutenant-Governor Paterson was in charge on March 21st, 1795, and wrote:—"Our wheat harvest did not prove very abundant, but I have the satisfaction to say that the Indian corn has every appearance of being very productive. The flour being nearly expended, I have decreased the ration of that article, and have substituted Indian corn in lieu." One may ask with some curiosity how it came to pass that while the English settlers in America took so kindly to maize or Indian corn, those of the same race in New South Wales, where that corn was so successfully raised, should have rather a prejudice against its use. Was it owing to the forced use of the hard grain during the years of famine? In November, the military ration was 7 lbs. beef or 4 pork, 7 flour, half a pound of rice, 3 pints of peas, and 6 oz. of sugar.

Clothing troubles are rehearsed in the ear of the Duke of Portland by Governor Hunter, December 21st, 1795. "We have not now," he cries, "an article of slops in the colony. Your Grace's own private feelings will suggest what I must experience by continual petitions, from a people nearly naked, expressive of wants which it is not in my power to relieve." The next month he repeated his complaints. After mention-

ing that the shoes would be exhausted in a week, he ventures to propose some modifications in dress to save trouble. He refers to a "change in the articles of breeches and stockings for the men, and instead of them to substitute either blue or brown long woollen trousers, which are far more convenient and comfortable to the people, and much more desired by them. If the materials only were sent out, the expenses of making them might be saved, as the men would prefer fitting themselves. Such a pair of trousers answers the purpose of breeches and stockings together, so that few of the latter would be necessary, and none of the former." The modern Australian cannot help a smile at this singular tailoring despatch.

The meat ration difficulty, in providing their convict servants, induced the officers and free settlers to memorialize Governor Hunter, February 15th, 1796, for help, saying :—"As the late reduced ration of the colony compelled us to kill the greatest part of our live stock, several of us cannot as yet support those men with animal food, nor find them clothing ; should it meet your Excellency's approbation to allow us to draw animal food and clothing for them, we pledge ourselves to turn into His Majesty's stores an equivalent proportion of grain."

An agricultural difficulty threatened the colony, as the despatch of April 28th, 1796, points out, if the Home Office persist in the *Order* by which the convict helps on the farms of the officers were to be limited to two each. "If I withdraw these men," said Captain Hunter, "at this time, we can expect very little corn the next year, for they will not be able to work their ground ; should that be the case, we may expect that those who do raise a little corn will avail themselves of a scarcity, and raise the price, which I had some hope of being able to have reduced. By this means I am disposed to think that Government will considerably lose instead of gain by the recovery of those men to public labour, and the settlement, in all probability, be again reduced to a

state of distress, and a dependence for bread upon the mother country." What a lamentable tale this tells of the want of energy in ordinary settlers, who had grants of land, that the colony would fall again into days of famine if the gentlemen officers were not able to till their acres!

The opening century gave no solid ground for belief that the days of short commons had departed ; since the Governor wrote, January 7th, 1800 :—"Our store of salt provisions is now reduced to five weeks ; I had, in consequence, given directions to a short allowance of two-thirds." On February 2nd, 1802, Captain King said :—"In consequence of the great reduction in the ration of salt meat and grain, I have considered it necessary to extend the ration of six ounces of sugar a week to the convicts at Government labour."

Again, on May 21st, 1802 :—"I continued the reduced ration of pork until only eight weeks' remained in the stores, when it became necessary to go to the very reduced ration of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of pork daily. The women and children have been long excluded from that part of the ration." He added, "The necessity of lessening public labour in proportion as the ration is reduced is obvious."

The famine condition is sufficiently obvious from the public *Orders* of May 8th, 1801, May 17th, 1802, and March 23rd, 1806, about bread. This was, said the proclamation, "to be composed of meal from which only 24 lbs. of bran are to be taken from 100 lbs., as this regulation is necessary to prevent a distressing scarcity." Bakers failing to obey this injunction are to have their ovens pulled down, and they are to pay a fine of £10. By *Order* of May 17th, 1802, no meat, flour, or biscuit could be carried on board any vessel in the harbour from the town.

The flood of the Hawkesbury, March 22nd, 1806, again exposed the colony to some peril of a scarcity. But the merchants of Sydney were then sufficiently established to mitigate the force of the evil by their commerce. Wheat rose from 7s. 6d. to 70s. per bushel in consequence of panic

and cupidity. Rations, by *Order* March 29th, were fixed at wheat 4 lbs. or flour 3, maize 4, salt pork 4, and sugar 6 oz. In August the Governor was justly severe on those who neglected the raising of vegetables in their gardens. "Those who persevere in so criminal a negligence at this time," observed he, "in getting their gardens into a state of cultivation (to meet the scarcity that at present exists, and will be greater before the next harvest), will forfeit them to more industrious persons; for which purpose an inspection will shortly take place in the towns of Sydney and Parramatta."

Governor Bligh, February, 1807, reported the sending of a brig to China for rice, but which could hardly be expected to return for eight months. "We must, therefore," said he, "struggle through until next harvest, which will teach the settlers to be more provident and industrious than by any admonition whatever." He goes on to tell the Ministry:—"Such a distressed state have I found the colony in, that we are obliged to get grain how we can for present use, and at a high price. . . The little wheat which is brought to market sells from 20s. to 24s. per bushel." However, his Commissary wrote to him about "at least 10,000 bushels of wheat at 14s. 9d., and 20,000 bushels of maize at 6s., which is the least price the grain can possibly be procured this year."

We may thus conclude that during the whole of the first twenty years there was a deficiency in the means of existence. The most solemn time was indicated in the following *Order* of the Governor:—

"At a meeting of the Governor and Council held to consider the very exhausted state of the provisions in this settlement, and to consult upon what means are most proper to be pursued, in order to preserve life till such time as we may be relieved by some arrivals from England, of which we have been so long in expectation, but probably disappointed by some accident having happened to the ships intended for this country. The state of the provisions having been laid before the Council, and the alarming situation of the settlement

having been taken into the most serious consideration, the following ration of provisions was unanimously resolved and ordered to take place on Saturday the 15th inst., viz. :— Flour 3 lbs. per week for every grown person, beef 1½ per ditto ; or, in lieu of the beef, 17 oz. of pork ; rice 1 lb. per ditto." Children above 12 months old half the above ration ; children under 12 months old, 1½ lb. of flour and a pound of rice per week."

And all this misery took place during the first twenty years of a colony now pronounced to be one of the cheapest places in the whole world for meat and bread, for vegetables and fruit.

#### THE NEW SOUTH WALES CORPS.

The military class in New South Wales influenced society very greatly in the colony. They may almost be said to have made its history. Writers favourable to the corps might extenuate their faults, but could with truth applaud them for gallant deeds, and praise their devotion to the advancement of colonial interests. Those who disapproved of the high-handed proceedings of these soldiers, who condemned their interference in judicial, commercial, and political matters, and who were far from being satisfied with their moral influence in such a community, could not but acknowledge their services. The chief traders, the leading farmers, and almost the only squatters, the officers not only left the impress of their character upon the colony, but are truly entitled to honourable and grateful remembrance.

Marines formed the convict guard in the first fleet. Required by the exigencies of warfare, they were removed to make way for the corps. They would have returned, in submission to the earnest appeals of Governor Hunter, had not their services been so much in request during those times of national peril following the French Revolution and the rise of Bonaparte.

The New South Wales Corps was intended, from the first, to be no removable regiment, but to have a permanency of residence subject to their good behaviour. The men were to have special allowances, and could rise with the fortunes of the young colony. Major Francis Grose became their first commander, as he it was who collected the force. He was, so to speak, the recruiting sergeant, and received the reward of solid cash and official honour. He aspired to the position of Lieut.-Colonel, but failed to attain to it. The following letter from him to the Secretary of State explains the circumstance :—

“Should I be promoted to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, I would, without expense to Government, raise both the Companies, reserving to myself the nomination of the Captain and subaltern officers. Should it be thought expedient to add only a Major to the corps, without permitting me to succeed to any additional rank (I would raise the Companies on condition of receiving the levy money, nominating the Captain and subaltern officers, and receiving from the Captain appointed to a Majority £400), I should have no objection to raise the recruits on Government’s account, charging exactly whatever it costs to procure them, and I will exert myself to the utmost to recruit them at as little expense as possible, and with as much expedition as it is in my power.”

The offer was accepted. He estimated the charges of an Independent Company of Foot, for 365 days, at £1690 3s. 4d. ; that is, for 86 privates. The New South Wales Corps were to accompany a large number of convicts, 1900 males and 150 females. On the 17th of January, 1791, the order was given for embarkation on 9 transports. There were 160 privates, 4 drummers, 6 serjeants, 1 adjutant, 2 ensigns, and 1 captain. There were also 25 on board the *Gorgon*, and 135 on shore at Portsmouth. The Major arrived at Sydney with one Company by the *Pitt*, February 14th, 1792. The corps lost 13 on the voyage ; but of the convicts 29 died, and 120 were landed sick.

Some of the Marines in the colony were asked to join the corps. Governor Phillip, on November 7th, 1791, wrote :— “The raising of a Company from the Marines to be annexed to the New South Wales Corps has not been effected, and I believe it failed from no other cause than the doubt that the men had of the fear of being obliged to pay for their rations. Had the Company been raised, it would have been given to Lieut. George Johnstone.” But in the following March he intimated that 57 of these Marines “have offered to enlist, and form a Company annexed to the New South Wales Corps, under the command of Captain Lieut. George Johnstone, whom I have nominated to the command of the Company.”

The officers consisted of Major Grose, Captains Nichols, Nepean, William Hethe, William Paterson, and Joseph Foveaux ; Lieutenants John MacArthur, John Thompson, Edward Abbot, William Beckworth, John Thomas Prentice, and Thomas Rowley. The Rev. James Bain was Chaplain, and Mr. J. Harris was Surgeon. Major Grose ruled as Acting Governor from December, 1792, to December, 1794 ; and Captain Paterson till September, 1795. Mr. Foveaux also became a Lieut.-Governor. Besides the Marines, there were added to the corps thirty convicts who had formerly been soldiers.

Arriving at a time when famine set in upon the colony, Major Grose was not long before uttering complaints. Addressing Governor Phillip, October 4th, 1792, concerning the soldiers, he declared they “had scarcely shoes to their feet, and have no other comforts than the reduced and unwholesome ration served out from the stores.” Captain Phillip’s reply was very simple : “I see it daily at my own table.” He was unable to grant the request of the officers to send a vessel to the Brazils for the purchase of articles on their own private account. All available shipping had to be employed to fetch food for the community at large. This appears to have been the beginning of that difference between the corps and the ruler which widened with time.

On October 22nd the Major wrote home to complain of the want of deference to the military, and the unwillingness of the Governor to meet their wishes. He said :—"Whenever it happens that a short allowance is issued, the soldiers' ration is also reduced, and this without the smallest difference or distinction—the Captain of a Company and the convict transported for life divide in share and share alike, whatever is served." The Governor, in the extremity of his position, had resolved to place all in the settlement upon one level in regard to the supply of food.

But another cause of offence is noted by Major Grose :—"What makes our situation the more unpleasant is that the Governor does not feel himself authorized to indulge with grants such as would wish, either for comfort or amusement, to cultivate a small quantity of land." While grants were made to prisoners who had served their time, they were denied to the officers. But Captain Phillip, ever cautious and discreet, doubted his power to act, though he wrote off at once, asking for authority to give the land to the members of the corps.

The disorderly character of the soldiers is often noted in despatches. On March 19th, 1794, Captain Phillip describes a conflict between them and the people. Before this, says he, "They were observed to be very intimate with the convicts, living in their huts, eating, drinking, and gambling with them, and perpetually enticing the women to leave the men." As might be expected, the people complained, and sometimes took the law into their own hands. This occasioned personal conflicts. One day a fight took place. Ten soldiers were taken prisoners to the barracks, and a proclamation was issued. Unfortunately, while the officers put down the riot, they found excuses for their men, and had blame enough for the Governor. The Major evidently leaned that way, and gave some injudicious order about resenting the impudence of the people. "And should it," reported the Governor, "be carried into execution on any settler or freeman, some

unpleasant effects may be the consequence of it." He therefore remarked in his despatch :—

"The insults which have been offered to me, the mutinous and daring manner in which the greatest part of the detachment left their barracks with their bayonets to attack an unarmed people, their open and avowed mutiny in refusing to obey the word of command given them by their commanding officer, the oath which the whole detachment, except the non-commissioned officers and five or six of the privates, had taken to be true to each other, and not to suffer a soldier to be punished for whatever crime he might commit against an inhabitant," &c. This mutiny lasted from the 18th to the 22nd of January, and fully illustrated the lax discipline which prevailed, or the rough material of which the corps were composed.

In the interregnum between the departure of Governor Phillip and the arrival of Captain Hunter, the officers commanding the New South Wales Corps held control of colonial affairs. This mode of government gave little pleasure to the advocates of good morals, and no satisfaction to those who disapproved of absolutism. The views entertained of this rule by the Chaplain—a quiet, good man—are thus chronicled in a letter from the Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer to the Rev. Theophilus Lindsay, the distinguished minister of Essex St. Chapel, London :—

"On the first Sunday after Governor Hunter arrived (September, 1795), the Rev. Mr. Johnson in his sermon exposed the last Government, their extortion, their despotism, their debauchery, and ruin of the colony, driving it almost to famine by the sale of goods at 1200 per cent. profit. He congratulated the colony at the abolition of the military government, and the restoration of a civil one, and of the laws; and orders are this day given that no officer shall sell any more liquors."

Holt, the ex-Irish rebel General, was not likely, as a convict, to be favourable to those officers. He even accuses them of

compelling their own men to receive part of their pay in goods, under pain of displeasure and rough treatment. "This was the manner," said he, "in which all those old tailors and shoemakers, stay-makers, man-milliners, tobacconists, and pedlars that were called captains and lieutenants, made their fortunes, by the extortion and oppression of the soldiers, the settlers, and poor." Messrs. Piper and Abbott, though officers, he credits with honesty and poverty.

Governor Hunter was not long before experiencing the temper of the corps. His *Order* of February 5th, 1796, tells a strange tale of misconduct:—"The very riotous manner in which the soldiers have conducted themselves this morning, and the very unwarrantable liberty they have thought proper to take, in destroying the dwelling-house of John Bawgham, is so flagrant a crime," &c. . . . "If the soldiers expect the Governor or any of the officers in this settlement can hereafter consider them by the very honourable appellation of British troops, it must be by their bringing forward the ring-leaders of this shameful conduct." This was strong language for a naval officer to employ; but it was fully justified by the irregular and violent behaviour of the corps. He wrote also to their commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who had just before been Acting Governor, saying:—"I must declare to you, sir, that the conduct of this part of the New South Wales Corps has been, in my opinion, the most violent and outrageous that was ever heard of by any British regiment whatever."

The following extract from his PUBLIC ORDER of February 14th, further explains the difficulties of his Government, when having to restrain the licence of troops and yet preserve his authority over a prisoner population:—

"It is natural enough in every inhabitant of this colony (should such conduct be supposed to pass unnoticed) to entertain apprehensions for the safety of their persons and the preservation of their habitations whenever any private soldier shall think proper to consider them as persons deserving

chastisement." He then intimates that the officers had asked him not to issue a warrant against the offenders, until they, the officers, had had the opportunity of speaking to them. After this he says in the *Order* :—"A message was then brought to the Governor by Captain MacArthur, in the name of the corps, expressive of their contrition, their sincere concern for what had happened. At the same time that they would endeavour by their future conduct to wipe away the odium," &c. They had also agreed to indemnify the sufferer for his loss in the riot. The *Order* then goes on to say that the Governor had consented to receive their apology ; but he concludes by threatening the convicts and settlers with his severe displeasure should they be guilty of any insolence towards the soldiers.

In his communication with the Duke of Portland, August 10th, 1796, Captain Hunter is decidedly hard in his remarks upon the constitution of the corps. Many men had been picked up in strange quarters, having had in many cases questionable antecedents, quite sufficient to make them rough characters in the streets of Sydney.

" Soldiers from the *Savoy*," he says, " and other characters who have been considered as disgraceful to every other regiment in His Majesty's Service, have been thought fit and proper recruits for the New South Wales Corps, which, in my humble opinion, my Lord, should be composed of the very best and most orderly dispositions. They are sent here to guard and to keep in obedience to the laws, when force may be requisite, a set of the worst, the most atrocious characters that ever disgraced human nature, and yet we find amongst those safeguards men capable of corrupting the hearts of the best disposed, and often superior in every species of infamy to the most expert in wickedness among the convicts. Our stores, provisions, and granaries must be entrusted to the care of these men ; what security can we have in the hands of such people ? " In conclusion, he recommends their removal, as in the case of other garrisons. The Duke intended to order

this to be done, had he been provided with men to supply the place.

The way in which the officers of the corps frustrated the objects of justice, set aside the administration of civilians, abrogated the former commands of Governor Phillip, and placed every branch of colonial service under the absolute control of the military, as soon as the first ruler left and before the arrival of the second, is thus alluded to in the despatch of November 12th, 1796 :—

“ After the departure of Governor Phillip from this colony a general change took place. All his plans and regulations were completely laid aside, the civil magistrate was superseded entirely, and all the duties respecting the distribution of justice and every other concern of that office was taken into the hands of the military. Upon my arrival I considered this plan as inconsistent with the intentions of His Majesty and the British Parliament, and by no means agreeable to the laws established for our Government here. I therefore reinstated the civil magistrate in his proper office, and directed the Judge-Advocate to the duties of his department relative to the distribution of justice. Those changes I had soon reason to observe were not well relished by those of the military. Since that time frequent indirect and some direct attempts have been made to annoy the civil officers officiating as magistrates.”

Mr. Balmain, the magistrate, made complaint of the opposition of the officers to him in his magisterial capacity. He declared “ he would maintain to his last breath the character of a gentleman, in defiance of every unmanly mode of detraction that Mr. MacArthur is capable of using.” Judge-Advocate Atkins and Captain MacArthur had frequent quarrels in 1796, and each entered actions for libel against the other.

This Captain MacArthur was perhaps the most remarkable man of his time in the colony. A true thorn in the side of every Governor, a thorough obstruction to the ordinary course of justice, he was the *bête noir* of officialdom, as he was the undisguised terror of every settler not belonging to his own

faction. Resolved to be rich, he was one of the first of the military to embark in trade. Even when he gave up his profession, that he might devote himself without any interference to his commercial pursuits, he never lost the qualities that had characterised his military life. He was ready to fight all comers. Governors went down at his tilting charge, and litigants shrank from contact with one so impetuous and strong.

It was, however, in consideration of his eminent services to the colony, in the advancement of its material interests, notably in connection with wool production, that the faults of the man have been almost forgotten in the patriotism of the citizen. The *Genius* of New South Wales, as if in imitation of the pitying tear of the recording angel, has blurred the page that told of John MacArthur's errors, while lighting up by her smiles the letters which blazoned forth his glorious deeds in the path of peaceful progress.

When he found Governor Hunter openly opposing the corps, and changing the *régime* established by the military oligarchy, he boldly resolved to carry on the struggle at headquarters. He would as the representative of the wealth and energy of his party plead before the Ministry in London. Another object impelled him to undertake the voyage. He already meditated important commercial enterprises, and would engage the leading merchants and capitalists of England in the untrdden ways of colonial money-making. He would tell his tale of sheep-farming, he would open the eyes of enterprising men to the bright career New South Wales opened to them. He in fact crossed the sea as the real pioneer of pastoral and mercantile prosperity in New Holland, the Australia of to-day. Such a man will not fail to make friends, to gain auditors to his complaints, to receive consideration for his suggestions. He did not all at once procure Governor Hunter's recall, but his story undermined the stability of the Sydney ruler's position, and eventually led to a retirement.

What the Governor thought of the correspondence of his

opponent with the powers that reigned in London may be gathered from his rather petulant despatch of September, 1796.

“ I am of opinion that were every restless, speculative, troublesome, or dissatisfied individual in this or any distant colony encouraged to consider himself of sufficient importance to take the liberty of corresponding with His Majesty’s Ministers upon the public concerns of such colony, and wholly independent of the Governor, it would soon occasion such a variety of opinions as could only serve to embarrass the judgment of Government, and would generally be found to be directed more to the private interests of the several schemers than that of the public.” He was further pleased to say:—“ I consider this officer’s conduct in this instance to be an impudent, indiscreet, and highly censurable interference in the duties and department of the Governor of this colony.”

But this scolding from a distance was not so effective as the skilful language employed face to face by a clever man of powerful will. If the Governor of New South Wales objected to the mischievous influence of one returned colonist, what would he have thought had he been favoured with a view of what his successors were to endure from continual personal memorials, and the harsh criticisms of a local press?

Captain Hunter received his *congé* through the persistent efforts of the corps, and his friend, Captain King, continued to struggle for independence with no better success. More impetuous, and less prudent, he laid himself more open to attack. As has been well observed, “ The privileges of the corps were defended with a boldness and finesse that would have out-generalled a man of much superior ability to Governor King.” As an illustration of this a good story is told, that after the preparation of an elaborate despatch, containing a full indictment against the officers, a clever convict and ex-burglar was employed to pick the box, and the Duke of Portland was surprised to find that His Excellency had sent him nothing but a collection of old English newspapers.

Litigation and personal squabbles were in the ascendant at the beginning of this century there. Governor King was in constant difficulty with one or other of the corps. There was the trial of Lieutenant Marshall of the Navy for striking Captain Abbott of the corps; and because, as usual, the restless Mr. MacArthur was mixed up in it, and Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson rather took the part of the Governor, the Captain challenged his superior to a duel. It was then that the Governor interfered. He would refer the case home.

"I have no other means," said he, November 5th, 1801, "of restoring and insuring the tranquillity of the colony than by sending Captain John MacArthur, of the New South Wales Corps, to England under an arrest." Again he wrote:—"That from the circumstance of the officers being so much involved in these events, recourse could not be had to the General Court-martial demanded by Captain MacArthur, nor could I try that officer for endeavouring to create dissension between me and the second in command. And should any further proof be wanting of the turbulent and restless conduct of Captain MacArthur beyond what are mentioned in the preceding statement and proofs, I must require that the evidence of the late Governors Phillip and Hunter may be procured, which, with many documents now in the Secretary of State's Office, will fully prove that conduct of Captain MacArthur's has not been confined to the present moment."

Mr. Judge-Advocate Atkins had, on September 29th, 1801, written thus freely of Captain MacArthur:—"Whose intrigues and transactions, so dangerous to the prosperity of an infant colony, were but too well known to your Excellency's predecessor, Governor Hunter, and will be remembered with the highest indignation as long as this colony exists." He and Lieutenant Grant were opposed by all the rest of the court, composed of officers, in the case of Lieutenant Marshall. "If the officers of the New South Wales Corps," said Mr. Atkins, "who complain that they have been left *alone* to maintain on *unequal* grounds the propriety of their

conduct, had not themselves furnished grounds for that inequality, it would never have been shaped into a complaint, but have remained what it really was—an imaginary evil . . . The Judge-Advocate has no absolute power of checking any informality in respect to the proceedings of the court, or any illegality in point of law, except by a formal protest." Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson declared that Captain MacArthur, while professing friendship with himself, betrayed his confidence, to repeat matters to Captain King in order to cause a bad feeling between the Governor and his Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Paterson.

That a friendly feeling then existed between Colonel Paterson and Governor King is asserted by the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and is evidenced by a despatch of His Excellency's, March 1, 1802; when, in allusion to Mr. MacArthur, he wrote, of "that officer's ill-behaviour having taken up so much of my time." He then added, "So great is the influence which his art and wealth have given him among many of the subordinate officers, who now remain his adherent partisans, and occasion much trouble and vexation to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson and myself."

The corps at this time consisted of 587 privates, 18 drummers, 29 sergeants, and 22 officers.

A very odd turn now occurred in the so-called MacArthur difficulty. In reply to the allegations of Captain King there came the decision of the Horse Guards, dated January 31, 1803. Objection was taken to the sending away of the accused, as no witnesses were in England. The Council at the Horse Guards came to this resolution :—

"That Captain MacArthur shall be remanded to New South Wales, in order to join his regiment, but His Royal Highness has ordered that he shall be previously relieved of his arrest, as in consequence of the difficulty which occurs in the assembling of a Court-martial competent for his trial, on that station, His Royal Highness conceives that Governor King will not be desirous of bringing the articles of

complaint, whatever they may be, which he has against Captain MacArthur, before a military tribunal."

Before this communication could reach Sydney, the quarrel had been considerably extended. Another and very formidable opponent now entered the lists against the rash but well-meaning Governor. This was Major Johnstone, who subsequently figured as the leader of the military rebellion against Governor Bligh. Captain King, to disturb the serenity of the soldier traffickers in drink, had appointed certain Emancipists to be retailers under licences, and in other ways had encouraged the freedmen as a set-off to the arrogance of the corps. A sharp discussion took place between the Major and His Excellency, in which the former thus delivered his opinion of the class so favoured :—

"I do not look upon convicts conditionally emancipated amenable to the articles of war, or on a footing with those who are considered the *respectable* inhabitants of this colony, nor do I imagine that I could justify my conduct were I to sanction such a measure."

This is not the place to enter into the petty squabbles of the corps. It is sufficient to say that Major Johnstone, taking umbrage at the supposed bias of the Judge-Advocate, requested the Governor to appoint another President at the Court-martial. This Captain King declined to do. The Major then, on his part, refused to aid the course of justice. As the Chaplain remarked in a letter, "Major Johnstone has refused to nominate members for the Criminal Court." These members, being officers, were pleased to see the deadlock. The Governor struck his flag. In a General Order, March 4th, 1803, he presented this apology :—"To secure the peace of the colony, by the Criminal Court not continuing, being suspended for want of members to compose it, and on no other consideration, the Governor has appointed Mr. R. Atkins, Deputy-Judge-Advocate to the Territory, to officiate as Deputy-Judge-Advocate in the remainder of the General Court-martial now pending."

Another feature of this petty quarrel is preserved in the Major's letter to Lord Hobart, then Secretary of State, dated May 2nd, 1803 ; "the threatening language contained in many of the letters written by His Excellency Governor King to me at the time I commanded the troops in this colony, appeared so extraordinary on my receiving them, that as my conduct should not escape investigation, I was induced to promise His Excellency that I would forward to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as well as to your lordship, every line that should pass between us."

Governor King was known to be very sensitive to attack, and very irascible. This gave his enemies another mode of annoyance, and lampoons were freely circulated, while care was taken that sundry scraps of poetry should fall in his way. Libelling papers were dropped about. The poor man, fertile in despatches, poured out his grief and wrath before the Secretary of State on May 9th, 1803. He certainly had cause of anxiety. "On the trial of Captain Kemp," wrote he,—"the President (Major Johnstone) thought proper to dismember the court by putting the Judge-Advocate, who also prosecuted on behalf of the Crown, into arrest." This Captain Kemp was afterwards well known in Van Diemen's Land, and survived to above the age of ninety. As another Judge-Advocate was insisted upon, the Governor admitted that he had been forced to appoint one for the trial of the other.

"At the trial," said he, "it appeared that the charge exhibited against the prisoner was so loosely worded, and stated in so contradictory a manner, that the President and members of the court did not consider themselves authorized to go into the examination of witnesses. But, as the whole of the circumstances attending this extraordinary event were so singular, I judged it necessary to suspend my approval thereof, and to submit it to His Majesty's decision."

He was weak enough to send home copies of the slanderous papers. Some are as rude as they are indecent,

while others appear the product of educated persons. Two specimens are appended :—

“On Monday keep shop,  
In two hours’ time stop,  
To relax from such *Kingly* fatigue,  
To pillage the Store,  
And rob Government more.”

The keeping shop is an allusion to the sale of stores by Government in opposition to local traders of high charges. The other piece is the last verse of a long poem :—

“For infamous acts from my birth I’d an itch,  
My fate I foretold but too true ;  
Though a rope I deserved, which is justly my due,  
I shall actually die in a ditch,  
And be damned.”

The unhappy Governor felt the squibs severely, though, as he told Lord Hobart, “conscious as I was of my integrity, and having a thorough contempt of the assassin’s blow.” He then declared himself as “being perfectly satisfied with the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly testimonies of gratitude I have received from every description of His Majesty’s subjects in this colony, *except the officers of the New South Wales Corps.*” Yet, so worried out is this victim of official honour, that he concludes his despatch in these words :—“I humbly implore your Lordship to procure me His Majesty’s leave of absence to enable me to submit my conduct to your Lordship’s consideration.”

From the first a personal unpleasantness existed between Captain Bligh and Mr. MacArthur. The rather violent action taken by the Governor to restrict the sale of spirits necessarily brought him into antagonism with the officers and their friends, as they were the chief dealers. For some time previously the commanding officers of the corps had been Acting Governors, and the military party naturally resented the too-evident ill-will of the new ruler, who belonged to the other service.

Governor Bligh clearly foresaw the coming conflict. He counselled the change of the military guards, even on moral grounds ; saying in his letter home, October 31st, 1807 :—

“ About seventy of the privates were originally convicts, and the whole are so very much engrafted with that order of persons, as in many instances have had a very evil tendency, and, it is to be feared, may hereafter lead to serious consequences, more particularly from their improper connection with the women.” Then he adds, “ There is no remedy but by the change of military duty, a circumstance which can only prevent a fixed corps *becoming a dangerous militia.*”

The immediate cause of the conflict and rebellion was in connection with the sale of spirits. The quarrel arose about a still, assigned to Mr. MacArthur contrary to law, and seized by the police. Then that gentleman’s vessel was seized for contravention of colonial orders, neglecting to provide his crew with provisions. Mr. Atkins, Judge Advocate, wrote to him December 14th, 1807, saying, “ I require your attendance at Sydney to-morrow morning, at ten o’clock, to show cause of such your conduct.” The other wrote a refusal to come “ in consequence of the illegal conduct of the naval officers in refusing to enter the vessel, and retaining her papers.” A warrant was issued to apprehend him.

Then, addressing the members of the Criminal Court, chiefly officers of the corps, he wrote :—“ It will, I am convinced, excite your surprise, as I think it must of every impartial man, to hear that I am brought a prisoner to this bar. To you has fallen the lot of deciding a point which involves, perhaps, the happiness or misery of millions yet unborn. It is to the officers of the New South Wales Corps that the administration of justice is committed, and who that is just has anything to dread ? ” On January 25th he stated that he “ considers his life in danger from the unprincipled and atrocious characters that are combined against him ; ” so he “ entreats the court will be pleased to put him under the protection of a military guard.”

On the 25th six officers applied to the Governor "to determine on the propriety of appointing another Judge-Advocate to preside on the present trial." Captain Bligh replied the same day: "I consider that the Judge-Advocate had a right to commit any person who might commit any gross insult to him while he was in his official capacity as Judge of the court. I do not consider the court can be formed without the Judge-Advocate; and, when legally convened, I have no right to interpose any authority concerning its legal acts." The officers rejoined:—"We cannot, consistent with the oath we have taken, or our consciences, sit with Richard Atkins, Esq., in the trial of John MacArthur, well knowing the hostile enmity which has existed between them for the last thirteen or fourteen years." The same day (25th) the Governor demanded the papers of both parties; but was refused by the court majority, who only promised copies.

The day following (26th inst.), the six officers again addressed the Governor: "That the Judge-Advocate has been challenged on good and lawful grounds, and is ineligible to sit as a Judge on the cause before us. We, therefore, pray that your Excellency will be pleased to nominate some impartial person to execute the office of Judge-Advocate. It is with much concern we have learned by the enclosed deposition made before us by G. Blaxcell, Esq., and N. Bailey, Esq., that the body of John MacArthur, Esq., the prisoner arraigned before us yesterday, has been forcibly arrested from the bail which the court remanded him in; which illegal act of the magistrates (grounded on the false deposition of Mr. William Gore, Provost-Marshal) we beg leave to represent to your Excellency is, in our opinion, calculated to subvert the legal authority and independence of the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, constituted in this colony by His Majesty's letters patent; and we, therefore, pray that your Excellency will discountenance such magisterial proceedings, pregnant with most serious consequences to the community at large; and that your Excellency will be pleased

to take measures to restore John MacArthur, Esq., to his former bail, that the court may proceed on his trial."

To the Governor's pressing request for Major Johnstone's return to town for consultation, the reply came that he was too ill to leave his house, then four miles from Sydney. But he did, as Lieut-Governor, send an order to the gaoler on the 26th for the delivery of the body of Mr. MacArthur, on the ground that the bail-bond was in force. "Herein," said he to the master of the prison, "fail not, as you will answer the same at your peril."

When liberated, Mr. MacArthur met the other officers, and drew up the following requisition to Major Johnstone:—

"The present alarming state of this colony, in which every man's property, liberty, and life are endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under arrest, and to assume the control of the colony. We pledge ourselves, at a moment of less agitation, to come forward to support the measure with our fortunes and our lives."

Revolutionists, whether oligarchical or democratic, have ever hailed themselves as the advocates of freedom and the defenders of order and the law. The Major accepted the office, and wrote the following letter to Captain Bligh:

*"Head-quarters, 26th January, 1808.*

"SIR,

"I am called upon to execute a most painful duty. You are charged by the respectable inhabitants of crimes that render you unfit to exercise the supreme authority another moment in this colony, and in that charge all the officers under my command have joined.

"I, therefore, require you, in His Majesty's sacred name, to resign your authority, and to submit to be arrested, which I hereby place you under by the advice of all my officers, and by the advice of every (?) respectable inhabitant of the town of Sydney."

Now it was in the evening of the busy 26th that the

Governor assembled all the civil officers, magistrates, and the clergyman, to consult with them. The six rebellious officers were then summoned to appear the next morning at the Government House.

Both parties were thus in open collision. Could the Governor have had time to rouse the settlers he had the chance of victory. But the military resolved upon prompt action. "Every precaution," said Captain Bligh, "was used by the rebels to prevent any communication with the interior of the colony. Guards were set on the road to Parramatta, and no one suffered to pass." The soldiers advanced towards Government House. "When the troops marched from the barracks," said he, "not more than six or seven names had been affixed to the paper which exhorted them to perpetrate this crime, while the whole of those (100) who subscribed their names afterwards declared they did it at the point of the bayonet."

It was nine o'clock at night when the troops arrived. Captain Bligh wrote:—

"Major Johnstone having brought up in battle array some 300 men, under martial law, loaded with ball, to attack and seize my person and a few friends, some of whom are magistrates, that had been at dinner with me. Their colours were spread, and they marched to the tune of the 'British Grenadier,' and to render the spectacle more terrific to the townspeople, the field artillery on the parade was presented against the house, when I became arrested, and had five sentinels placed over me; and the civil magistrates were put under an arrest in their own houses."

In another letter he wrote: "Without ceremony they broke into all parts (even the ladies' room) and arrested all the magistrates; Mr. Gore, Provost-Marshal; Mr. Fulton the clergyman; and Mr. Griffin, my secretary. Thus the civil power was annihilated." His account of his own capture in a back room differs from that told by his captors, who said they dragged him from beneath a bedstead.

Many years after, on November 24th, 1825, the *Sydney Gazette* had the following sketch by Mr. Howe, the printer:—

“ We shall never forget the evening and night of the ever memorable 26th of January, 1808. We perfectly recollect the marching of our then little army from the barracks of the New South Wales Corps up to Government House, in the front and rear of which the troops were all drawn up, under the orders of the lamented and misled Colonel Johnstone. We were in the midst of the search that was made after the unfortunate Governor, and were obliged to give admittance to Lieutenant Laycock to the little printing-office, which was in those antique times attached as an appendage to Government House. The Lieutenant, after examining the loft, in descending from which he had nearly dislocated the principal joint in his body, discovered that no Governor was there; and shortly after his unfortunate Excellency (the representative of majesty) was found beneath a bed up-stairs, to which he had flown for refuge from those adversaries who have ever since continued the enemies of good government. The day following, the 27th, was a day of immense business. The Governor was formally deposed, bonfires were lighted at the corners of almost every street, magistrates were dismissed,” &c.

Colonel Johnstone on the 27th issued this proclamation:—

“ The public peace being happily and, I trust in Almighty God, permanently established, I hereby proclaim the cessation of martial law. I have this day appointed magistrates and other public functionaries from amongst the most respectable officers and inhabitants.

“ In future no man shall have just cause to complain of violence, injustice, or oppression; no free man shall be taken, imprisoned, or deprived of his house, land or liberty but by law. Justice shall be impartially administered, without regard to or respect of persons, and every man shall enjoy the fruits of his industry in security.

“ Soldiers ! your conduct has endeared you to every well-disposed inhabitant in this settlement. Persevere in the same honourable path, and you will establish the credit of the New South Wales Corps on a basis not to be shaken.

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.”

After Mr. Grimes the surveyor had been appointed Judge-Advocate, Mr. MacArthur was put upon trial, and of course acquitted. A large party of soldiers, seating him in a chair on a sort of stage, carried him triumphantly about the streets of Sydney.

It was against him that Captain Bligh was chiefly embittered. In his letter home, April 30th, 1808, he said :—“ This Mr. MacArthur began his career with endeavours to delude the settlers and landowners, but who execrated him for the attempt as they had always done. He then opposed the civil magistrates, and bid defiance to all law and colonial regulations ; and, after all, under the pretext of great benefits that would arise to the military, he with a Mr. Nicholas Bailey seduced Major Johnstone and all the officers and privates of the New South Wales Corps from their duty and allegiance into open rebellion against me.”

The story needs no further extension, as the day of rebellion closed The First Twenty Years of Australian History. By placing the Governor on board a vessel in the harbour, and appointing their own commander ruler of the colony, the corps apparently gained all their objects. The Home Government was too busy in war to take the matter promptly in hand ; but when the inquiry was made Mr. Johnstone was cashiered, and the corps became one of the ordinary regiments of the line (103rd), being removed for ever from New South Wales. Mr. Johnstone returned to Sydney as a settler, and lived many years there much respected. The civil power again became dominant, and no “ dangerous militia ” interfered further with the safety of Government or the peace of citizens.

## IRISH REBELLIONS.

The congregation of London pickpockets was less dangerous to the tranquillity of the new settlement than the gathering of disaffected Irishmen. Those who went forth in the first fleet gave comparatively little trouble to the authorities. Many of these were short-sentenced men and women, guilty of petty larceny or other comparatively trifling offences. It was quite otherwise when the convicts largely consisted of political criminals, especially of *United Irishmen*, both before and after the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

The first Governor, therefore, encountered little annoyance from those parties. Governor Hunter was not so favoured. His despatch, November 12th, 1796, has a reference to the evil, saying:—"I have at this moment an information on oath before me of a very serious nature, and in which those turbulent and worthless characters called *Irish Defenders* are concerned. They have threatened resistance to all orders, but they have not yet carried out their threats. Seditious people might do much mischief with such instruments to work by. The grievances of those Irishmen are that we have not the time of their conviction and sentence, which is certainly hard upon them, and should be remedied, as they may otherwise be kept longer than is just in servitude." They were not the first convicts who had complained of that negligence in the Home Authorities, notwithstanding repeated requests from Governors that such lists be forwarded. But there was in the *Irish Defenders* a spirit of revolt apart from that cause of uneasiness.

Governor King wrote to the Duke of Portland on this subject, September 28th, 1800. "I am much concerned," said he, "to inform your Grace that the rumours of a troublesome spirit among the Irish lately sent to this colony for sedition (which existed before my arrival here) has lately proceeded to a very great height, and according to much corroborating

evidence, given to a committee of officers civil and military, appointed to investigate the business, there is much reason for apprehending that the principal people amongst them have been irritating the restless disposition of these people, which has not a little been aggravated by the artifices of Harold the priest and several others." He then adds further information, remarking, "The number of seditious people sent from Ireland since the late disturbance in that country is 235, exclusive of the *Defenders* sent out in 1794, and many other Irish who have been sent out for felonies. Their whole number amounts to about 450."

The year after, on March 10th, Captain King had more to communicate, saying, "A second attempt has been made still more diabolical than the first had it not been timely discovered. Pikes were found." The ringleaders of this movement he sent off to Norfolk Island. He ventures to warn the Secretary of State as to the peril of forwarding so many rebels to so distant a territory, already difficult enough to govern. He refers to 135, just arrived from Cork, "of the most desperate and diabolical characters that could be selected throughout that kingdom, together with a Catholic priest of most notorious seditious and rebellious principles, which makes the number of those who, avowing a determination never to lose sight of the oath with which they are bound as *United Irishmen*, amount to 600, are ready and only waiting an opportunity to put their diabolical plans into execution."

The news of the Union of Ireland with Great Britain, after the suppression of the rebellion, came as an opportunity for Governor King to exercise his prerogative of mercy. Writing home, August 21st, 1801, he noticed the fact of the Union, and said, "On this occasion I relieved those among the Irish insurgents who were so troublesome previous to and some time after I took the command."

The distressed Governor pleaded again, May 21st, 1802, for relief from the continued influx of disturbing Irishmen, saying, "I would humbly propose that as few as possible of

those convicted of sedition and republican practices should be sent, otherways in a very short time this colony will be composed of few other characters." In this instance, however, as in many others, the entreaties from Port Jackson gained little if any attention from the British Ministry. Had the hint been taken, the outbreak in New South Wales might have been avoided.

But Downing Street was moved by some strong influence at home, or from abroad, on behalf of some of the exiled rebels, since the Secretary of State wrote thus to Sydney, August 29th, 1802 :—

"The Catholic priests Dixon, O'Neal, and Harold, and a man named Abraham Gough, have been represented to me as persons who may not be undeserving of the conditional emancipation above explained : if their conduct should have justified this representation, and you should be of opinion that these priests may be usefully employed either as school-masters, or in the exercise of their clerical functions, you may avail yourselves of their services."

In that year, 1802, on January 30th, the effort of the Governor to strengthen the hands of the infant State, by the formation of Volunteer Corps among the free inhabitants, was duly acknowledged in these terms :—

"Continue by every means within your power to encourage the *Armed Associations*, in which it is the indispensable duty and obviously the best security of every respectable inhabitant to enroll himself."

"But the *Loyal Associations* were to serve against foreign attacks as well as domestic foes. The following public *Order* was issued by Captain Phillip Gidley King on December 8th, 1803 :—

"Counting on the zeal and loyalty of all His Majesty's subjects in this territory, as well as on the forward disposition of every Briton and Irishman to defend their families and property against any invader's mistaken attention to this colony, and to guard against the first effects of any

unexpected attack from the enemy, and deeming it essential to the preservation of public and private property that the *Loyal Associations* be forthwith re-embodied, I do, by virtue of the trust reposed in me, require all Free Men, inhabitants of the towns of Sydney, Parramatta, and Green Hills neighbourhood, who are desirous of manifesting their zeal, loyalty and inclination, to preserve their families and property in case of any emergency, to give in their names to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor during the ensuing week, in order that I may be enabled to make a selection of the number required for such Association."

After all, the Associations were not then formed, owing most probably to the jealousy of the orthodox defenders, the members of the New South Wales Corps. Governor King, although in his despatches unmistakably hostile to the corps, found it prudent to lower the flag in Sydney. The *Order* of February 17th, 1803, declares, "The unbounded confidence I place in the New South Wales Corps' loyalty and activity has prevented me from re-enrolling the Associations, otherways than by appointing the officers." The quelling of the rebellion, therefore, the year after was left to the military.

From the War Office in London a letter was written, October 24th, 1803, by a brother of Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux in Norfolk Island, warning the Home Government about the Irish convicts. He had heard of the returning visit of that officer, after fourteen years' absence from England, and wished to protect him from the machinations of his enemies, who hoped to catch him unprepared for attack, from want of official documents to sustain a charge.

"I have learned accidentally," says he, "that the Irish convicts who were probably concerned in the plot, to wrest from Government the possession of New South Wales, and to murder the officials, have been taking active though secret measures to revenge the death of the two ringleaders, whom my brother the Lieutenant-Governor thought it indisputably necessary

for the safety of the island (Norfolk) to bring to immediate execution. If my information is correct, these convicts are several of them men of cunning and talent, who were principally concerned in the former rebellion in Ireland, and were thought to be of dispositions too mischievous to be allowed to remain at Port Jackson. They have instigated the friends in Ireland, who are in easy circumstances, of the two executed culprits, to commence proceedings against my brother immediately on his arrival in this country on the foul charge of murder."

A fresh appeal of Captain King's appears in his despatch of May 9th, 1803, where the Secretary of State is told, "The list of fourteen men condemned lately to die was caused by one of those unhappy events that happen more or less on the importation of each cargo of Irish convicts."

It was in 1804 that the Irish Rebellion in New South Wales took place. The Governor's proclamation, March 5th, gives the first official intimation of it:—

"Whereas a number of labouring convicts of Castle Hill and other parts in this district have assembled, and in a rebellious and daring manner have attacked and robbed several of His Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of their property and arms, and proceeded therewith to great acts of outrage, which the preservation of the lives and property of His Majesty's liege subjects demand an immediate stop being put to by the most efficient means.

"I do, therefore, proclaim the districts of Parramatta, Castle Hill, Toongabbee, Prospect, Seven and Baulkham Hills, the Hawkesbury and the Nepean to be in a

### STATE OF REBELLION,

And do establish MARTIAL LAW throughout those districts.

"I do hereby charge and command all His Majesty's liege subjects to be assisting in apprehending and giving up to the nearest officers or magistrates any person they may stop who

is unprovided with a pass, under pain of being tried by a Court-martial.

“And every person who is seen in a state of rebellious opposition to the peace and tranquillity of the colony, and does not give himself or themselves up within twenty-four hours, will be tried by a Court-martial and suffer the sentence passed on him or them.

“And if they or any of them give up the ringleaders to justice, it may be an effectual means of procuring them that amnesty which is so much my wish to grant.”

The Governor, fortunately, was again indebted to an Irishman for the discovery of the intended rising, only twenty hours before the men turned out. The informer, as Captain King reported, “added that he had suffered so much before, on account of the rebellion in Ireland,” that he determined never more to be privy to such plans, and so gave information to Captain Abbot on March 3rd. The Governor did not learn till midnight that the insurrection had taken place at Castle Hill, not far from Parramatta.

The rebels set off from King’s Town to Castle Hill, with the intention of marching to Sydney, where they expected to be joined by many Irish sympathisers. The scheme was kept pretty quiet till just before the time for action. Immediately Captain Abbot heard of the mischief, he sent to his commander, Major Johnstone, who at once hastened up to the scene. Meanwhile, the others commenced to plunder the settlers. They were in two bands, imperfectly armed. The Major collected 40 soldiers for the pursuit, sending 16 to Castle Hill, and hurrying forward with 24 after the rebels, who fled upon hearing of his approach. But the story is best told in his own report to the Governor.

“Sir,

“March 5th,

“I beg leave to inform your Excellency that about half an hour before eleven, the detachment under my command came up to the runaways near the last Ponds. I rode

up to them, accompanied by *one* trooper, and remonstrated with them on the impropriety of their conduct, and desired them to surrender, which they peremptorily refused. I went up a second time with a trooper, and desired to speak with their two leaders, who came up to us, when we forcibly drove them in to the detachments with pistols at their heads; the rest, to the number of 250, dispersed in every direction, and we have been under the necessity of killing nine, and wounding a great many, the number we cannot ascertain. We have taken seven prisoners and seven stand of arms, and other weapons, and we are in hopes, in our march to the Hawkesbury, to pick up some more of them."

This battle of Vinegar Hall was fought on March 5th. But the rebellion may be said to have been put down by the intrepidity of the Major and his single attendant.

On March 7th, the following *General Order* appeared:—

“The principal leaders, of the deluded and infatuated people who have, through the arts and designs of some hidden characters, been induced to commit overt acts of rebellion, forgetting thereby the comforts and real liberty they enjoy as connected with industry and quietness, being killed, apprehended, or having given themselves up, and, as a number of the insurgents are still wandering about, they will take notice that if they do not give themselves up to the settlements and masters they respectively belong to before Friday night next, the most exemplary example will be made of them wherever found, and no excuse whatever allowed, but will receive any punishment that may await those still absent, which can be only mitigated or pardoned on condition of their surrendering themselves immediately, and bringing their arms with them.”

This *Order* was succeeded by another on the 9th inst.:—

“Public tranquillity being now on the point of being restored, his Excellency with a heartfelt pleasure requests Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, commanding the New South Wales Corps, will communicate the sentiments his Excellency

entertains of the conduct and exertions of every description of His Majesty's loyal subjects in this colony.

“ His Excellency considers the conduct of Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, in his civil and military capacity, in the steps that were taken by him after the Governor-in-chief's departure from Sydney to Parramatta, calculated to provide against any event that might arise, and he has a very confident assurance that if circumstances had required his actual exertions and those of the officers and soldiers of the corps under his command at Sydney, that every success would have attended their active and soldier-like conduct.

“ The alertness with which the Sydney Association was formed, and the forwardness every loyal inhabitant manifested to preserve the peace and tranquillity of this settlement, and their general readiness to go wherever their services might be required in support of His Majesty's Government, his Excellency has a just estimate of.

“ The shortness of the time (only one day) between the first suspicion of such an extensive conspiracy going forward, and its breaking out into actual outrage and rebellion; the discovery of the insurgents' intentions and proceedings, the consequent preparations of the defence, and the whole of Captain Abbot, commanding officer of the Parramatta detachment's conduct, and that of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers under his command, claims the warmest acknowledgments, which are also due to the Association and the general part of the inhabitants of that settlement.

“ And as the further services of Major Johnstone, Lieutenants Davis and Brabyn and Quarter-master Laycock, with the detachment for Sydney, can be dispensed with in this quarter, his Excellency feels a peculiar gratification in requesting that Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, on the detachment's arrival at head-quarters of the New South Wales Corps, will testify the sense his Excellency has in the dispatch made by that detachment in marching to Parramatta, and immediately after pressing their eager services to march

immediately in pursuit of the insurgents ; their active perseverance and zeal, notwithstanding the fatigue they had undergone, in running after a body of 266 armed rebels upwards of seven miles from the place where certain information was received of them ; the gallantry of Major Johnstone's conduct, with only one trooper, in detaining that body till his small force of 25 soldiers, with Quarter-master Laycock, and several of the volunteers, inhabitants of Parramatta, could overtake him, securing the two principal ringleaders, and the subsequent rout of the rebel body, after the opposition it made to the King's forces, with the whole of Major Johnstone's conduct, and that of the officers and soldiers under his command, as well as the separate parties under the command of Lieutenants Davis and Brabyn, who were ordered to take other routes for the same object, having been a principal means of quelling the proceedings that required these exertions.

"His Excellency requests the Lieutenant-Governor will forward the accompanying letter to Captain Woodriff, commander of His Majesty's ship *Calcutta*, expressive of the high sense the Governor-in-chief entertains of the immediate and active attention of himself, his officers, ship's company, and Marines, in landing, and being ready to give their assistance, had it been necessary."

Last of all came the proclamation of March 10th, duly signed :—

"PHILLIP GIDNEY KING,  
" By command of His Excellency,  
" W. N. CHAPMAN, Secretary."

"Whereas the imperious cause that rendered it necessary to place the districts of Parramatta, Castle Hill, Toongabbee, Prospect, Seven and Baulkham Hills, Hawkesbury and Nepean, under Martial Law on the 5th inst. no longer exists, I do annul and revoke the Proclamation of the 5th inst. to this effect, declaring the above districts, in common with the

rest of the Territory, under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Judicature, as heretofore established.

“On this occasion I feel it a duty to remind the deluded objects of the artful designs of some unknown, but not unsuspected, miscreants, who now lament their diabolical schemes miscarrying, of the absurdity of their seditious designs when opposed to the steady exertions of persevering loyalty, which has so generally prevailed over the late event.

“Let the ignorant and unwary reflect on the dying words of one of their leaders (Johnstone) who asserted that those engaged in the late tumultuous proceedings were the victims of a very few who contrived and abetted in secret the horrors which have deprived several of their lives, by resisting the measures used to bring them to a sense of the enormous crimes they were about to perpetrate, whilst others have paid the tribute due to the offended laws and violation of personal security, which must not and shall not be transgressed with impunity.”

The battle of the Colonial Vinegar Hill lasted a quarter of an hour. In all the conflict 16 convicts were killed and 12 wounded, while 30 were captured; the rest afterwards surrendered. It is said by one that there were 136 stand of arms and pistols, besides pikes, sickles on poles, and sticks.

Holt, commonly known as General Holt, having held command in the Rebellion of 1798, had been transported for his share in the Irish trouble, though treated with respect by the authorities because of the peculiar circumstances which had drawn him into the insurrection. In his published memoirs there is an account of the Rebellion of 1804. He tells the story of the insurgents entreating him to be their leader, though he pointed out the absurdity and hopelessness of the attempt. As he knew much, and did not inform the Government, while preserving a loyal submission, it was considered necessary to send him over to Norfolk Island for rustication.

He was at that time overseer of the extensive farming

establishment of Mr. Cox ; and, when the insurrection took place, he went with his wife and child to his master's house, and assisted to put the building in a position to resist an attack by the rioters. His narrative of the events is as follows :—

“ In February, 1804, the devil was as busy in New South Wales as ever he had been in Ireland, and exerted all his evil influence. The lower people, convicts and others, both English and Irish, seeing their torment increasing in this most ill-managed colony, conceived an opinion that they could overpower the army, possess themselves of the settlement, and eventually make their escape from it. Where they were to go did not enter into the contemplation of these poor fellows, who fancied, at all events, they could not be worse off than they were already. Some of them hinted to me that they thought such a thing might be done. I thought so too, and that it might come to a head ; and, therefore, pointed out in the strongest language I was master of, the folly of such an attempt. ‘ You saw,’ said I, ‘ in Ireland, that even there you could not depend on each other,’ and I was sure it would be worse here.”

The proceedings of the Court-martial were painful enough. They who hunted down the unfortunates in the field, officers of the corps, formed the jury on the trial, Captain Abbot being the President. This was the charge entered against the prisoners :—

“ William Johnstone, Charles Hall, Samuel Himes, John Neale, John Place, John Brannon, George Harrington, John Burke, Timothy Hogan, Bryan McCormack, were brought before the Court, and charged for that they, together with others, did on the fourth day of this instant, March, in the year of our Lord 1804, and at divers other times, riotously, tumultuously, and traitorously assemble at Castle Hill, and various other places in this Territory, armed with guns, pistols, cutlasses, and other offensive weapons, with an intent to overthrow His Majesty’s Government in this Territory.”

In the records of the Court-martial we read :—“William Johnstone acknowledges his giving himself up to Major Johnstone, and throws himself upon the mercy of the court. Charles Hill says he was forced by the rebels to join them, that he was a free man, and had no occasion to fight for it.” Place denied the charge, while the rest professed to have been compelled by others to join the movement.<sup>1</sup>

Hall, Himes, and Place were hung on the 8th inst., at Parramatta ; Johnstone, Neale, and Harrington at Castle Hill ; but Brennon and Hogan at Sydney on the 10th inst. Burke and McCormack were respite. Those punished with the lash were but few, and they were not too severely treated for the times. Five were condemned to 500 each, and two to 200 ; but no one got more than 150 lashes.

On the whole, considering the alarm of the colony, and the mischief that might have occurred, justice was not administered after the Jeffries stamp. On a previous occasion, five had been condemned to 1000 lashes, four to 500, and three to 200. One of the poor fellows received as many as could be placed on the upper part of his back, a second instalment lower down, and the third upon the calves of his legs. Neither crying out nor wincing, the man declared that he would never provide music for others to dance to ; meaning, that no suffering should make him tell that which might bring another to the gallows.

The Rev. Mr. Marsden, Chaplain, was the most active of magistrates, and took an energetic part in the repression of revolts. His remarks upon the difficulty he experienced in the search for pikes are dated September 29th : “ We have not been able to come at any of the pikes yet : whether we shall or not is uncertain. I think there will be sufficient evidence before the whole is complete to bring the matter to issue, and justify some severe examples of punishment. They are an unaccountable set of beings. It is difficult to prevail upon any of them who are accused to say a single word. We have a number confined.” But he did his best.

He sent down a dozen on trial. Still, there seems a slight inconsistency in Mr. Marsden's trying to extract a confession by means of the lash on a poor fellow on the Saturday, and preaching the religion of the gentle Jesus on the Sunday.

The spoils of war following the Vinegar Hill exploits were not numerous. By the 9th of March there were collected 26 muskets, one fowling-piece, one pistol, two swords, four bayonets on poles, one pitchfork, and eight reaping-hooks. The military force in the colony was then consisting of 490 men, besides officers. There were also 31 men belonging to the Sydney Association of Volunteers, under Captain Rowley, and 28 of Parramatta under Captain Savage.

In his letter to Lord Hobart, on August 14th, 1804, the Governor wrote:—"Though every exertion is made to counteract their being misled, I am sorry to say that a few disaffected characters will always be endeavouring to poison the minds of the greater part of those who have been sent here for sedition and rebellion in Ireland, who, notwithstanding the lenity shown them so lately, have been endeavouring to resume their wild plans, which has rendered it necessary to put the worst of that class under greater restrictions than has hitherto been the case. About forty of the worst were sent to the coal-works at Newcastle, and have lately concerted a plan of assassinating Lieutenant Menzies and the small force he has with them, and by a scheme as wild as it is desperate and impossible to effect, they proposed making their escape from that settlement. It was discovered in time to prevent any attempt."

The worst had passed. Henceforth, like the retreating thunder after a storm, nothing but sullen complainings were known. The following year there was peace. "I have great pleasure," so runs the despatch, April 30th, 1805, "in informing your Lordship that we hear of no more plans among the United Irishmen." But on February 22nd, 1806, fears are excited; since we read:—"I cannot conceal from your Lordship that the arrival of the five United Irishmen, who

appear to have been considerable leaders in the late rebellion in Ireland, without any conviction, added to the numbers of the disaffected of that class here already, will call forth the utmost attention of the officers in this colony."

In the records of 1806 there are two notices. On May 11th is this *Order* :—" His Excellency strictly forbids any inhabitant or other person whatever in the towns of Sydney, Parramatta, Green Hill, and Castle Hill quitting their respective dwellings, on any pretext, in case of alarm by fire, commotion, or otherwise, either by night or day, after the drums have beat to arms, and the alarm-bells are rung, except police, military, and others." Two days after was this notice :—" From the unlawful meetings lately held in the colony, and the numerous depredations of various kinds committed on the Public, the service requires that a Piquet of one non-commissioned officer and four privates from the Loyal Sydney Association should join the main guard every evening at sunset, for the purpose of patrolling that part of the Town and environs not inspected by the Guard of the Corps." They are not to suffer lights to be kept in improper houses after tattoo beating, and to take all idlers to the main-guard room.

It is not a little remarkable that, in 1807, in the Hawkesbury district once so disaffected, 600 persons enrolled themselves to keep down any further insurrection.

#### NORFOLK ISLAND SETTLEMENT.

The early history of Australia would be incomplete without the story of this lone and lovely isle of the Pacific, so closely associated with the trials of the infant colony.

It lies in lat. 29° S., long. 168° E., and is about 20 miles round. A reef of coral girds and guards the shore. Forests of noble pine, soil of marvellous fertility, and climate as healthful as enjoyable, were attractions for any people. But the native flax was the first occasion for location. A month

after Sydney was named, a party was sent to the Pacific Isle by Governor Phillip, under the charge of Lieutenant King, subsequently a Governor himself.

The little colony consisted of nine male convicts and six female, with a farming man, a sailmaker, a surveyor's mate, and two Marines as guardians of order. Tents and booths were the first tenements, though one house and the framework of an hospital were constructed in England. There were no wild natives and no ravenous beasts to disturb them. The people were to gather flax, and manufacture clothing. So much was thought of this work in Europe, that a petition was presented early in 1788, by Sir George Young and Mr. John Call, demanding the grant of this island for the express purpose of growing the "New Zealand flax plant." Two men were supposed to know something about the preparation of the flax.

The flax idea, however, became quite secondary when the Sydney Governor discovered with dismay that his supply of provisions was shorter than had been supposed, and that the soil of Port Jackson was no promising one for wheat, while the little island afar was so exceedingly fertile. In October there had been sent forward 20 more male prisoners and 10 females, with 8 Marines. But in February, 1790, when grave fears were entertained about a famine, no less than 186 convicts were forwarded, with 35 others in the *Sirius* and *Supply*. Major Ross was declared the Lieutenant-Governor.

Troubles came rapidly. On March 19th, as officially reported, the *Sirius* "struck upon a reef of coral rocks which lies parallel to the shore." Not only was much provision lost, but the help of the principal vessel belonging to Government was lost. In the midst of consternation at this calamity, martial law was proclaimed, and a miserable ration of provisions established. King hurried off in the *Supply* to gain assistance, though deepening the gloom of Sydney by the sad news he bore.

Farming operations were hastened, though months must

elapse before a harvest could afford relief. It was then that the sea-birds were seen coming inland to make their nests in the light soil of Mount Pitt. The people eagerly fell upon them in darkness, obtaining eggs as well as egg-layers. In gratitude the people termed these puffins or mutton birds *Birds of Providence*. It was then, as Captain Hunter says, that "the dejection, the ghastly pale and sickly look which was to be seen in every countenance, soon gave way to a cheerful and happy appearance of satisfaction." The birds continued their visits from April to August.

So good a report reached London concerning the fruitfulness of the island, that it was proposed that Norfolk and not Sydney should be the principal settlement of New South Wales. Governor Phillip, however, on June 17th, 1790, objected strongly, both on account of limited area and the absence of harbour. But they who obtained farming allotments there had reason to be satisfied with the result of their labours.

Soldiers and Marines obtained grants of 60 acres each, and 35 convicts had each 12 acres. About 100 acres were then in wheat, and 60 in maize, while the population was 1000. In the letter of September 1792, Captain King declared there were "812 persons on the island who do nothing towards maintaining themselves." Only 59 men and 17 women could provide for themselves. But 137 were not fit for work, 91 were sick, 101 were servants, and 60 were clearing land. Yet there were 123 settlers, with 179 wives and children. He complained of only having 303, out of 1115 on the island, to carry on public works.

The people were not all idle. In 1795 they had 40,000 bushels of corn, and made canvas clothing out of the flax, with the help of three imported New Zealanders. Fresh pork was then 6d. per lb. ; wheat, 7s. a bushel ; potatoes, 3s. the cwt. Wages were 5s. a day ; or 3s. 9d. with rations. Thrashers were paid 20d. per bushel.

The island was roughly governed by Captain King, who

had his seasons of good-tempered generosity. On the King's birthday he gave to each man half a pint of rum, and to each woman a pint of wine. But he administered 50 lashes at the cart-tail to a woman who defrauded a man of some provisions, and doubled the penalty when catching her afterwards stealing a new shirt. Another woman was punished with 50 lashes for abusing the store-keeper. Captain King was not satisfied with the convict settlement. It was too far from Sydney head-quarters, and expenses were heavy for Government. He, therefore, recommended its abandonment. His successor, Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, concurred in that opinion. A partial evacuation took place. In 1804 some were sent to land on Port Dalrymple, now Launceston, of Van Diemen's Land, and others to the Coal River, now Newcastle. But Mr. Secretary Wyndham wrote from Downing Street :—

“Very little if any advantage can be expected from a partial evacuation of Norfolk Island, commensurate with the expense of maintaining that settlement. I have it in command that you take measures forthwith for withdrawing the settlers and all the inhabitants, together with their live and dead stock.” Houses were to be erected by Government for the settlers on the new lands granted them elsewhere, in compensation for removal.

On September 5th, 1804, the islanders memorialized the Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, thanking him for his good rule. Alarmed at the intended evacuation, they entreated his benevolent offices with the Governor and Lord Hobart. The appeal thus went on :—

“That upon the first colonization of this island, a comparatively numerous class of your Honour's petitioners became the inhabitants thereof, generally young, healthy, and unremittingly assiduous in attaining to that state of improvement of the same, the object of His Majesty, and the anxious wish of petitioners. And the remaining part of whom not comprised in the number of original inhabitants have become

possessed of lands and tenements therein by purchase, enabled thereto by the effects of long industry, economy, and integrity, having thereby contributed to the improvement of the island both in agriculture and stock in a very eminent degree ; and borne with all these hardships and privations, not only of the comforts but necessaries of life, at a period of years not very remote, which circumstances rendered unavoidable, happily, however, in that respect, then unencumbered with numerous families, and not broken down by years and hard labour, the contrary of which is now generally the case with your petitioners. And the only permanent resource to which they looked forward to for the support of declining age and helpless infancy, that of their landed interests and improvements. And they are justly apprehensive, likely to become illusive if the evacuation of this island shall take place on the terms communicated to them by his Excellency, Governor King, through the medium of your Honour.

“ That one year's supply of provisions from His Majesty's stores, when conjoined with the uncertainty of crops and other contingencies incident to the removal from a settled habitation, a consequent domestic derangement, and the formation of a new settlement, is totally inadequate to the relief of your Honour's petitioners.

“ That the petitioners are to a man destitute of property which can be denominated moveable, or be remunerated by Government under the directions held out by the regulations for evacuating the island, they having not only continually applied the surplus of their annual savings, after support of their families, to the improvement of their respective premises, by erecting permanent buildings, consisting of dwelling-houses, offices and enclosures, clearing and reclaiming ground, and in all other respects endeavouring to attain and secure a proper asylum for themselves and their successors, survivors in their families, but have also contracted debts for the same purpose, part whereof remains still unliquidated.

“ That the regulations for evacuation are totally silent as

to any equivalent being allowed for such permanent buildings and improvements."

The petitioners appealed to little purpose. There was no official influence to back them, no public opinion to help them, no press to advocate their claims. Of the first most favoured class there were 13 persons; of the second, 47; of the third, 71. It was computed that the value of the dwellings left by 80 of them was £1116. The last batch of the people left in 1807.

The writer has heard the story of the evacuation of Norfolk Island from the lips of some who were torn away from those happy shores. Tears of regret were unavailing, and the retreat from that Canaan of Hope was ever afterwards referred to with deep emotion. Ultimately, the evacuation was pronounced ill-judged, and a re-colonization of the island took place. But a shade must be drawn over that second settlement. Another departure, another loss of Government expenditure, gave a pleasant home to another class of settlers, the simple Pitcairn Islanders.

#### EARLY SETTLERS.

At first there were in New South Wales but two classes,— convicts and officials. As some of the first emerged from servitude, by the fulfilment of their term of punishment, a new order, called *Emancipists* or *Freed*, came into existence. A fourth class appeared on the scene in the persons who came free into the colony, but were not upon the staff of officials. The military formed with the civil servants of the crown the ruling powers. As all of these, except those prisoners actually in bondage, could obtain grants of land, the settlers varied in social condition.

The earliest settlers were those who received farms upon obtaining their *Indulgence*; that is, their qualified freedom. A few mechanics and others, who had been permitted to go

out, might also become farmers. After a time, soldiers and sailors who had left the service could be made settlers. Subsequently, the military in service, especially those of the New South Wales Corps, supposed to be stationed for life there, were favoured with acres for cultivation. Other officials and gentlemen, who arrived as merchants, clergymen, &c., became settlers in the same sense.

Not supplied with capital, most settlers were, for a time at least, dependent on the public stores for rations of food and clothing, in addition to gifts of seed and tools. The Government undertook to purchase the produce of their industry, and thus afford them the means of an independent existence. Even when convict labour was afforded them in their fields, provisions were secured without charge to the employers. The main difference among the early settlers consisted in the extent of their grants of land; they who had been in bondage began life with a more limited acreage than those whose passage to the colony was under more favourable circumstances.

No one could venture upon a voyage to Port Jackson or Botany Bay, as it was long called, without express permission from the Secretary of State. The ordinary form of application was a statement of the desire to be sent as a settler to Botany Bay, a description of trade or past service, with written recommendation as to character. Piteous letters were forwarded when the answer to such application was delayed through official neglect. Most of the parties were mechanics, and but few in any way connected with agriculture. One appeal ran thus:—

“ Your petitioner, William Barnsley, a healthy, stout, active man, 36 years of age, of a liberal education, and speaks the French tongue with fluency, wishes to go out as a Free Settler to New South Wales. Has a practical knowledge of gardening, with a good share of experience in botany. Has served His Majesty several years in actual service in the Cumberland regiment of militia, and is well acquainted with

military discipline. Has no objection to act as a Volunteer in the colony, either to repress insurrection, or to repel a foreign enemy."

In 1790 we read :—"Edward Foulkes, a young gentleman of the age of 19, is desirous of going to Botany Bay in any capacity he may be thought fit for. He has had a good classical education, writing a good hand, and is a good accountant."

Some applicants from Calcutta, in 1799, are very precise as to terms. They not only ask a free passage, but free accommodation in Sydney till their houses should be ready. They demand "to be allowed grants of land in such situation as we may choose." They want 200 acres for each man, 100 each woman, and 50 each child. They must be allowed stores, seed, tools, and convict labour, with the right "to import a quantity of Bengal rum." Sensible of having been sufficiently modest, they finally request to know, if the Government decline to accede to all their demands, what modifications may be made. One person "desirous of becoming a settler in New South Wales, where he might avail himself of the kindness and attention of his relations, humbly begs leave to solicit your Lordship's permission to that effect, with a grant of land for the purpose of cultivation and raising stock, with such other privileges as is generally allotted to settlers of his class."

John Sutton addressed the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, sending in a list of twenty-five families, reputed Quakers, willing to go out with him. As a *Friend*, he is decidedly cautious and practical. He is prepared on that year of 1791 to gather a suitable class of settlers, but must be paid for his trouble. Among other things, he asks if the Minister of State will

"Allow to the subscriber or his assigns the sum of £25 for every free person landed in the colony? Will Government find tools and implements of husbandry and utensils necessary for the settlers on their arrival, with seed to sow and plant,

and fruit-trees of *all* kinds suitable to the climate, with a supply of hogs, sheep, and cattle, and poultry necessary for a stock, give the settlers each a number of convict servants free of all expense, as they shall be able to manage, such servants to be continually in succession to the settlers for life (!), and not less than *ten* servants to each family or settler who shall be of full age to act for him or herself, and to maintain *completely* every such settler and their servants for two years at least after the arrival of such settlers in the colony, and grant free of all expence and quit rents and charges, not less than 500 acres of land, of which so much to be near the seat of Government as the Government can reasonably give, and also a farther grant of larger tracts of land in such other places as the settlers may locate for themselves, equally free of expense and quit-rents? Will the Goverment allow the subscriber or his assigns £20 for every head of cattle imported into the colony, £5 for every sheep, and £20 for every ass so imported; also £2 2s. for every barrel of American fine flour, and £5 for every barrel of pork imported into the colony for public use? The money to be paid in Spanish mill'd dollars at 4s. 6d. each, or by bills on the British Treasury at the option of the person receiving?"

Here we pause to take breath. This particularly cute member of the Society of Friends furthermore asks for Government assistance in the erection of their dwellings, &c., &c. A sudden thought comes to John Sutton after writing the letter. He has to record it thus:—

"N.B. Will the Government give 6s. sterling per bushel for any quantity of Indian corn?" The letter is dated "6th day of the week at noon."

The Public Records in London fail to give the reply, but we may presume an arrangement of some kind was entered into, since the following expostulation appears in John Sutton's handwriting:—

"Henry Shinder and his wife, and Rachel Martin came from Launceston to London on the 13th February, 1792.

John Sutton and Mary Chambers came from Cumberland, and got to London, 13th February, 1792. Isabella Chambers and Jane Whitfield, these came from Cumberland the last of February to go with J. Sutton, but were stop'd on the road until the ship shd be ready, and are now waiting in Lancashire for orders. Thomas Norton, wife and child. Thomas Norton gave up an engagement with a person going to France, and with his wife and child has been waiting ever since in London."

A tenderer tale is told to the Secretary of State, December 5th, 1806. It is the petition of the daughter of Mr. Daniel Walter. This is her request:—

"That some time back your petitioner became acquainted with a young man named John Simpson, who has been a resident in New South Wales but four years. A strong attachment ensued which is intended to be ratified by a marriage, for which purpose the young man on being settled has written home strongly entreating her to join him in that colony to fulfil the promise so ardently made previous to his departure, and now so anxiously wished for by your petitioner, to obtain which it is humbly entreated your Lordship will have the goodness to grant an order to enable her going out in one of the vessels about to leave England for that settlement; presuming to acquaint your Lordship that your petitioner is enjoying a good state of health, aged 22 years, and provided with every requisite for such an undertaking, excepting the means of defraying the expense of the passage."

Governor Phillip, from the first, was an earnest advocate for sending out Free Settlers, as he was for finding a farming home for convicts to prepare them for freedom. As early as September, 1788, he addressed Lord Sydney thus:—"Your Lordship will, I hope, judge it expedient to send out settlers, to whom a certain number of convicts may be given." That would furnish an example of industry to the exiles, and relieve the Treasury of charges for their support. It led him to say in February, 1790, "If settlers are sent out, and the

convicts divided amongst them, the settlement will very shortly maintain itself; but without which this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage."

On June 17th, 1790, he wished good farmers to be sent out, and proposed giving them land, free labour, and two years' provisions. "The number," said he, "intended to receive that indulgence may be limited at the first to fifteen." Some superintendents of convict labour were earnestly demanded, and artificers might be very useful. He is conscious that "it will be little less than two years from the time of granting the lands before these lands will support the cultivators;" and that "a settler who has to depend on his own labour will get on very slowly." A shrewd observation is added, "If the settlers first sent out are, in addition to their knowledge as farmers, possessed of some little property, will it not act as a security for their industry?"

The famine was pressing hard upon the colony when Captain Phillip urged the matter in July, 1790, as it was "to the first settlers, I think, every possible encouragement should be given." He wisely notes the "great difference between a settlement formed as this is, and one formed by farmers and emigrants who have been used to labour, and who reap the fruits of their own industry." He utters a warning to the British Ministry:—"This settlement, instead of being a colony which is to support itself will, if the practice is continued, remain for years a burden to the mother country."

On November 5th, 1791, he describes those already on the land:—"We have now 86 settlers here and at Norfolk Island; that is, 31 from the Marines, 11 seamen, and 44 from those convicts whose sentences have expired." The Marines and seamen had left the king's service. "My former letters," writes he, November 18th, 1791, "have pointed out the great necessity of a few intelligent good settlers, who would have an interest in their own labour and in the labour of those who might be employed under them, but *to which I*

*have not received any answer.*" His requests had to be often urged before any attention was paid to them in that war time. He puts the question thus plainly before his masters :—"The colony is now in such a situation that a few honest settlers, who have been bred to agriculture, being sent out may, in a very short time, be the means of taking off the heavy expense which Government has hitherto been at." His letter on December 14th is on the same topic.

There is much good sense in his despatch of March, 1792, in which he remarks that "a few intelligent farmers as settlers would do more for the colony than five hundred settlers from soldiers or convicts, very few of whom are calculated for the life they must necessarily lead in this country, where they are so entirely cut off from those gratifications in which most of them have placed their happiness."

He suggests to the Secretary of State that eighteen months would be sufficient time for their dependence on the Government stores, and the return of the convicts lent to them for work, or the payment for such service in a supply of grain. Those to whom he had given farms and seed were of little use, being tired of the employment. As he says they "wish to give up their grounds, or have sold the little live stock they had raised to procure articles (*as drink*) from which they do not reap any real benefit." He is not without other grave difficulties in his work of settling people on the lands. "People are dispirited," he writes, "particularly the settlers, for whom live stock is much wanted, in order to enable them to support themselves at the expiration of the time for which they are to be supported from the public store—eighteen months. The public live stock is not sufficient for those settlers to whom I have already granted lands."

A paper dated July, 1792, gives the regulations adopted by the British Ministry. It runs thus :—

"Proposed conditions under which the settlers have engaged to go out to New South Wales :—Passage to be

provided by Government ; lands to be granted free of expense ; to have an assortment of tools and implements out of the public stores ; to have two years' provisions ; the service of convicts to be assigned them free of expense, such convicts to have two years' rations and one year's clothing."

Governor Hunter followed in the emigration footsteps of his predecessor. He wrote home on April 28th, 1796 : " Some encouragement must be held out to respectable settlers and industrious people of all descriptions. This can never be the case if it be the intention of Government to cultivate land enough for the maintenance of all the convicts out here. The farmer will be labouring for a mere subsistence. He can never clothe himself and his family if he has no market for his surplus corn. If we continue to improve as we have lately done, farmers will be able to take the convicts off the hands of Government."

He is very far from being pleased with the selection of settlers in England, however well provided with certificates of character, observing :—" Many of those who have been permitted to fix are truly worthless characters, and very few of those sent out by permission of the Government are likely to benefit the settlement. They seem most of them disposed to speculate in some way of no great advantage to the colony. *I wish they were in their own country again.*"

After sending two of his officers to inquire into the results of settlement on the lands, and receiving their report, he was induced thus to declare his opinion, August 20th, 1796 :—" Those who have been sent out by Government as free settlers have generally turned out very ill-qualified for farmers in this country. It appears to be a life for which very few of them are adapted, either from ability or inclination. They come here too with expectations which cannot be gratified ; and, as they inform me, with promises from Government which we have not the power of fulfilling." The writer of this work, having read in the London 'Record Office' many of the applications for emigration, is not surprised at the

ill-success of free settlers. Hardly in any case do the petitioners confess any knowledge of farming.

Captain Hunter's correspondence in 1797 has many references to this subject. The soldier settler is thus presented:—"There are a considerable number of the Marines, who were the first troops sent to this country, and who, upon the recall of that corps from hence, were allowed to enlist for five years in the New South Wales corps. Some of them having completed the last engagement are desirous of settling in the country, and are entitled to a *double* proportion of land in consequence of a double term of duty." The soldiers' grants of 25 acres soon changed hands. "The men," said Captain Hunter, "sold them, and most of them were purchased by their own officers." But he had detected a number of persons on land who had no right there. The industrious and steady among these were allowed to remain, but the rest were turned into labour for Government.

A case of a useless emigrant is thus officially chronicled:—"I have discharged a millwright sent out by Government on a salary of £105 per annum. He had not earned £5, although he had cost the public £600 or more. Anxious as I was to get a mill erected, I could not effect it until I found an ingenious Irish convict, who has finished a very good one; and as an encouragement I gave him £25, and abolished the above salary."

One who pleaded for a kitchen-gardener seeking to go out to Sydney wrote, May 15th, 1798, that he would take charge of "the garden without pay, if he is permitted to go out as other settlers have done, and have the same indulgences when he arrives. He will, I conclude, set up there as a market-gardener." When men like Mr. Blaxland sought to go there much correspondence took place as to terms.

Governor King, in March, 1802, remarked that "if 50 respectable families, the heads of which ought to be good practical farmers, were sent here with the idea of staying all their lives much improvement would be made." As it was,

he found with those who had hitherto come out "their industry and exertions by no means answer to the professions they made in England. As they brought no other property than their large families many have been, and will continue, an expensive burden on the public or starve." He even compares them unfavourably with the convicts. He knows "scarcely one whose crop is not mortgaged." And yet he ventured to proclaim, December 21st, 1802:—

"From the information the Governor has received, and his own observations, he is happy to find that the principal part of the settlers are recovering from that state of debt and dependence they have so long been in; and to enable them to persevere and free themselves, his Excellency has thought proper to continue the suspension of the Treasury order, in consequence of which wheat, well-cleaned, will continue to be received into His Majesty's stores at 8s. per bushel."

He contrasts the needy settler and the one bringing capital, saying in July, 1805, "I cannot but consider it a valuable acquisition and advantage to the interests of this colony when settlers of such a description and uncontaminated mind as Mr. Davidson come to it. Unfortunately, those who have already arrived, with the exception of very few, have generally been of that description that many of them, with their numerous families, still continue to be a burden to Government." He calculates that one of these, having a grant of 100 acres, costs the State £138; but that Mr. Davidson, who takes 3000 acres, will only cost in food, men, and stock, £278.

So thought the Secretary of State in his despatch, July, 1805:—"It being deemed expedient to encourage a certain number of settlers in New South Wales of respectability and capital, who may set useful examples of industry and cultivation, and from their property and education be fit persons to whose authority the convicts may be properly entrusted, permission has been given to Mr. John Blaxland and his brother, Mr. Gregory Blaxland, to establish themselves and their families in the colony."

Captain MacArthur, however, did not approve of putting what he styled the "idle, worthless poor" on farms, on the completion of their penal term. He thus addressed the Duke of Portland:—"Had these men, instead of being permitted to become settlers, been obliged to employ themselves in the service of an industrious and vigilant master, they would not only have produced by their labour enough to maintain themselves, but there would have been a surplus to contribute to the furnishing the civil and military establishments." This was an outlook from the master's point of view.

Lieutenant Bond gives this story of emigration:—"On board the *Barwell*," says he, "there sailed three families who were going out as settlers. They received from Government about £25 for each family, which was intended to make some little provision for the voyage (although the ship's ration is allowed them), and to purchase some necessaries on their arrival at the colony, where they are victualled from the stores twelve months. This is their agreement with Government before they leave England, but some have been kept on the stores for several years."

Governor Bligh took a warm interest in the settlers on the land, particularly the poorer sort, and yet wrote after this style of them, Nov. 5th, 1806:—"The settlers in general, and particularly those from prisoners, are not honest, have no prudence, and little industry, besides being burdened with debts; great chicanery is used in all their doings, and much litigation."

The first free settler was Philip Schœffer, sent out with the first ships as superintendent of labour. He obtained 140 acres at Rose Hill near Parramatta. With all his chances, he died poor. The first convict settler was James Ruse, as he is styled in the early official record, though commonly known as Rouse. He obtained 30 acres near Parramatta, on March 30th, 1791, the day on which Schœffer obtained his lot. The "Field of Mars" was so called from its occupation by some retired Marines. "Liberty Plains" were taken up

by settlers in the *Bellona*, 1793, and each person was provided with ten convict servants. The settlements on the Hawkesbury were made in 1794; some grants are dated August 31st. A dozen Scotch settlers were placed near Portland Head on the Hawkesbury. Major Grose wrote April 29th, 1794:—"I have settled on the banks of the Hawkesbury 22 settlers, who seem very much pleased with their farms. They describe the soil as particularly rich." The Scotch had 100 acres each at King's Town, on the Hawkesbury, 1802.

Norfolk Island possessed settlers before Sydney. A letter thence from Major Ross, February 11th, 1791, refers to his placing a man on some land, who agreed, he says, "to become independent of the stores at the expiration of one year." This early settler did well, and got two convicts as helps. He is described as "a very deserving, painstaking person." On the island the chief settlements were Sydney, Cascades, and Charlotte Fields.

The first farm sold by auction was one of 25 acres, and it realized £15. The first organization of settlers took place September, 1793. It consisted of 90 subscribers of three bushels of wheat each, and was termed "The Settlers' and Land Owners' Society." The Chaplain of the *Corps* preached a sermon for them at their meeting, and afterwards honoured them with his company at dinner. Major Johnstone had a farm at Kissing Point. The Rev. Mr. Johnson established the first orangery, and made a considerable sum by his venture. The Rev. Mr. Marsden was one of the largest and most successful of farmers.

The first dated land grants were on March 30th, 1791. A week after that is dated the grants of 60 acres each to 40 Marines and discharged sailors on Norfolk Island. James Ruse, whose time was expired, and who married upon receiving his farm, is thus officially noticed:—"To James Ruse, one acre and a half broken up, assisted in clearing the heavy timber off five acres, and supplied with the ration issued from the public store for fifteen months, an hut built, grain

for sowing his ground the first year, with the necessary implements of husbandry, two sow pigs, and six hens given him."

Governor Phillip's intentions about land grants are announced by despatch, March 1st, 1791 :—" Each person is to have 60 acres of land. Half-an-acre is to be cleared, and huts built for them. They are to be maintained eighteen months from the public stores, and some clothing is to be given them, with the necessary quantity of grain for seed, tools and implements of husbandry, with such a proportion of poultry and hogs as the settlement can afford."

Captain Phillips was not generous with his grants, although he had, so to speak, a whole continent at his disposal. The early allotments, 23 in number, were from 20 to 50 acres each. Forty-three farms contained 2660 acres, and 44 had 1500. At first it was arranged that each grantee of 50 acres should pay a shilling a year *quit rent*, as an acknowledgment of the rights of the Crown in the land. The Governor, however, suggested to the Ministry, as early as July 17th, 1790, that "a small proportion of grain was to be paid to the Crown," since there was no other tithe. Afterwards the quit rent, though often changing, was declared two pence for each 30 acres.

The regulations issued on June 26th, 1800, were not lasting. In these there is the reservation of timber for naval purposes. It is there announced :—

" To every male (convict) shall be granted 15 acres, if married, five in addition, and for every child at the time of settling, three acres. Free of all fees, taxes, quit rents, for the space of ten years, provided that the person to whom such land shall have been granted shall reside within the space, and proceed to cultivation and improvement thereof during the time of five years from the date of the grant." Then it is added, " An annual quit rent of sixpence for every 30 acres after the expiration of the term before-mentioned. The grantee and his family are to be subsisted with the

rations, usually issued from the stores for the term of 18 months."

The grants grew in size ; for we soon find 260 of them for amounts over 100 acres, while there were 25 having more than 1000 each. Free people obtained larger grants than the Emancipist or Freed. Of the first 85 grants, 45 were of 60 acres, 12 of 50, 16 of 30, 1 of 20, 1 of 70, and 1 of 140. Of the 85 grantees 27 were married.

Captain Hill, in 1790, compared the American with the colonial system. He notes in the States that grants were made in proportion to rank ; "while here," said he, "no such thing, neither is there any intention of giving each their portion." It was his opinion that "Britain will not thank our Government for acting not only on a mean but an unstable plan, to the great disgust of every individual in the colony, and the certainty of bringing an endless burden on the mother country."

On November 5th, 1791, Governor Phillip was able to say, "We have now 86 settlers, here and at Norfolk Island ; that is, 31 for the Marines, 11 seamen, and 44 from those convicts whose sentences have expired." He then declared that he had prudently placed "the settlers, with allotments of land for the Crown betwixt every two settlers." However, in consideration of the necessity of mutual protection against natives and bushrangers, he had to change his plan, since he added, "I found it necessary to let subsequent settlers occupy all the ground which had been set apart for the Crown." None but men of good behaviour among the *Expirees* could have land.

Mr. Secretary Dundas issued his commands respecting land grants from London, June 31st, 1793.

"Grantees," said he, "shall reside upon and cultivate the lands hereby granted for and during the term of five years from the date hereof, provided the said (grantee) shall so long live ; and any sale or conveyance of the said lands before the expiration of the said term of five years shall be void."

Again, "All leases made to emancipated convicts or to those whose terms of transportation are expired, shall not be assignable, except with the consent in writing of the Governor." Referring to military officers, his orders were:—"But when grants of land are made to such officers as at the same time continue to receive their pay, it is but reasonable that they shall maintain such convicts as are granted for the cultivation of their land."

Quit rents were by no means regularly paid. There was a frequent shifting of the terms of payment, and much annoyance was felt and expressed by settlers upon this vexed land question of primitive days. An *order* was made September 28th, 1800, requiring the discharge of all such obligations before November 30th, 1804, as the funds were for the benefit of the Orphan School.

Governor King referred to the landlord and tenant system, March 15th, 1806, observing, "The real settlers and other cultivators, among whom are officers, &c., who have procured by purchase more ground than they are able to occupy, have let portions of it to prisoners who have served their terms of transportation." This is the first intimation of landlordism in Australia. In March, 1802, he had to complain of the neglect of such grants, observing, "As there are a number of farms deserted and lying waste, and others that have never been occupied, although grants have been given for them, I have to request your instructions whether lands so situated are to revert to the Crown."

It was thus feebly and fitfully that progress was made in the proper settlement of the colony.

#### FARMING.

The first farm of nine acres was laid out by Governor Phillip in 1788. It was a mile or so eastward of the temporary vice-regal residence. As soon, however, as the better land

was found at the head of Port Jackson, not only did the Governor favour that part for residence, but cultivation was there commenced under more hopeful circumstances than near Sydney.

Rosehill was the earliest scene of agricultural operations. The native name of Parramatta was afterwards given to the neighbourhood. At Toongabbee, Castle Hill, Prospect Hill, Long Bottom, Emu Plains, and, subsequently, in the valleys of the Hawkesbury and Nepean, corn-fields were to be seen. The Governor lamented that "very few indeed have more than a very superficial knowledge of agriculture." He declared that there was no land to be found that did not need manure, a supply of which could not be expected in a country then without stock. Governor King afterwards bluntly asserted that it was impossible to make farmers out of London pickpockets. Any how, one thing is certain, that during the first few years there was little or nothing done in agriculture.

The primitive rulers were absolute; but, being naval men, they had no taste for farming. The locations were poor in soil. The seed was generally very worthless. The seasons were ill-understood, and not very propitious. The labouring convicts had no heart for the work, and were too little supplied with food to have strength to do what was required. Thus it was that famine for years plagued a region now smiling with fruits, and that the Home Government had the annoyance of receiving bills on the Treasury for the payment of corn which convict labour under the control of local officers was supposed so easily to raise.

It is true the Ministry made some little arrangements for future agriculture. One Schœffer was selected, in 1787, to proceed with the first fleet as general instructor in the art. He was, also, supposed to introduce the culture of tobacco, for which the climate was considered favourable. But Schœffer did little for himself, and less for others. He obtained a grant of 140 acres, and lost it through drink. He

got another of 50 acres, on part of which Sydney is standing. But what is now valued at hundreds of thousands of pounds he sold for twenty gallons of rum, and an equal acreage at Pittwater. As may be expected, he died poor.

On September 28th, 1788, Governor Phillip had to write home:—"All the seed wheat and most of the other seeds brought from England having been spoiled, as well as what was put on board the *Supply* at the Cape." The desponding ruler wished to prepare his masters for the probable outlay, saying:—"If it be the determination of Government to persevere in establishing a settlement in this country upon an extensive plan, the nation must be contented to submit to a very heavy expense. It must be stocked with cattle, were it only for the manure, for without manure this country is too poor ever to yield tolerable crops." Again and again he asked for genuine English farmers to be sent out, as no one seemed to know or care anything about the work.

In November, 1790, he repeats his sorrowful tale, and seems quite hopeless:—"Cultivation," says he, "on a public scale has for some time past been given up here, the crop of last year being so miserable as to deter from farther improvements; in consequence of which the Government farm is abandoned." He then enters into some particulars:—"I do not think that all the showers of the last four months put together would make twenty-four hours' rain. Our farms, what with this and a poor soil, are in wretched condition. My winter crop of potatoes, which I planted in days of despair, turned out very badly when I dug them about two months back. Wheat returned so poorly last harvest that very little besides Indian corn has been sown this year." One of the earliest convictions was that New South Wales was a very poor place for wheat, though fair enough for maize.

The yield was not promising at Rose Hill, according to Captain Hill, who reported:—"It produced the first year nearly sevenfold, the second year not so much, and the third

year rather better than the seed sown." Nevertheless, the Governor, in March, 1791, wrote :—"At Rose Hill 213 acres will be sown this year." He speaks of famine effects thus :—"Little labour is done at present, for the people are in general very weak."

The year 1792 was a busier one. For seed, 500 bushels of wheat were issued. Out of 1703 acres, 1186 were in maize, 208 in wheat, 24 in barley, and half an acre in oats. From the produce of 4844 bushels of maize, 2649 were issued as bread ; but Captain Phillip acknowledged that at least 1500 were stolen by the people, being, as he says, "pressed by hunger." There were 13 farms at the fort of Prospect Hill, 15 at the Ponds, 8 at the Field of Mars, and 9 near Parramatta. Already he could report :—"Most of the settlers with their families are independent of the public stores ;" that is, those provided with land were able to live without drawing weekly rations from Government.

Mr. Secretary Dundas had been appealed to about the military and civil servants of the Crown having farms allowed them in the colony, as well as the convicts whose period of sentence had expired. He agreed to the grants of land, "provided the allotments are made not with a view to a temporary but an established settlement thereon." The Governor, however, proposed leasing some of the ground, and wrote to London for an approved form of a lease. The land question that year gave him trouble at Norfolk Island, where men, whose time was up, had begun to part with their farms. He was distressed because "fifty of the best and more desirable lots would become the property of abandoned women burdened with children." In October, 1792, only 1516 acres were in crop. Of these, 100 were in gardens, 416 were on settlers' ground, and 1000 were farmed by the State, having maize in 800, and wheat and barley in the rest. "A windmill," exclaims the Governor, "will save an infinite deal of trouble." The iron hand-mills sent out were of little use.

Captain Phillip was encouraged to write of the land settlers in 1793, "They have abundance, and live much at their ease." There were 179 men, 99 women, and 27 children. Drink then had scarcely begun its ravages among the farmers. There were 4665 acres cleared in April, 1794. One of the earliest notices of the better land on the Hawkesbury relates to that year; when, as the so-called Barrington's story says, "Williams and Rouse, having squandered away the money for which they had sold their farms, were permitted with some others to settle on the banks of the Hawkesbury, about 24 miles from Parramatta." There was danger as well as inconvenience, going there so far into the bush.

From the records of June, 1795, it is learnt that the Government farm at Parramatta had 340 acres of corn, while others had 1214 there, besides 618 near Sydney, and 548 by the Hawkesbury.

In September, 1796, the Government cropped 1700 acres; the officers, 1172; and the settlers, 2547; or 5419 in all. There was then a chain of farms extending nearly twenty miles along the Hawkesbury. In February, the military farmers made a strong remonstrance against any diminution in the supply of men to do their work. It was necessary that they who took an active part in agriculture should have the support of the state; especially, said they, as "on account of the great scarcity of cattle useful in agriculture, it is by means of manual labour only we can possibly continue in cultivation the lands we have already cleared." The long-waited-for windmill came in November. Governor Hunter, March 3rd, 1796, gave his chief the following story of a terrible affliction encountered by the primitive farmers:—"The violent storm of wind from the south-west brought with it a shower of ice so heavy, the solid pieces being about three inches square, that those wheat-fields which lay in the direction through which it passed were entirely cut down, and the weight of the flakes were such that it completely

threshed every grain from the ear, which was at that time nearly ripe."

The year after Captain Hunter refers to another plague to farmers,—bush-fires. "The loss to Government," wrote he, "has been about 800 bushels of wheat, and we are now, from want of grass, obliged to feed some of our cattle with grain." The natives that time so plundered the fields of maize, to which they took a great fancy, that the very cultivation of that grain was arrested in the more exposed portions of the Hawkesbury district.

In 1798, Sir Joseph Banks, who had been with Cook at the discovery of Botany Bay and Port Jackson in 1770, who had been the main cause of the selection of that neighbourhood for a convict settlement, and who was ever interested in its progress, wrote from Kew Gardens to Government. It was but a renewed attempt to catch the official ear about his scheme to send out plants for the use of the infant colony, and to procure New Holland ones for his home grounds. More than once he had suggested how this could be done; but the war pressed too much upon Ministers for them to give heed to science. On December 13th, 1798, hearing that Captain King was about to go out as the new Governor, replacing Captain Hunter, he wrote to say that that gentleman was willing to take out a botanical collector as one of his suite, that while the salary would be paid by Sir Joseph himself, the rations could be supplied from the public stores. He asks something about the plant cabin on the *Porpoise*. "The cost," said he, "of framing such a plant cabin, fitting it on board the vessel, will be under £60; and if a sum not exceeding £50 is allowed me, I will undertake to provide all the plants that can be wanted."

March, 1799, was the time of a sad flood of the Hawkesbury, though not so destructive as that of 1806. But a sudden rise of fifty feet above the ordinary level could not fail to be a great misfortune. The official account was sent on May 1st:—"The river swelled to more than fifty feet

perpendicular height above its common level, and the torrent was so powerful, it carried all before it. Many of the people were taken from the ridges of their houses by a few boats they had amongst them. Many hogs, other live stock, poultry, with much of the produce of the last unfortunate harvest" (that was from drought). He takes comfort from the fact that only one man was drowned; and added, "I have the satisfaction to believe that this inundation will be the means of that land which has been overflowed producing for a year or two to come uncommon crops, and thereby recover the loss it has at present occasioned." In August, 1799, there were 6125 acres in wheat, 2532 in maize, 82 in barley, 7 in oats, and 4 in potatoes.

An interesting story is now told of colonial farming. Colonel de la Clampe had been one of the French royalist refugees. Disdaining to live on the charity of others in his exile, he proceeded to Sydney, and obtained a grant of land at Castle Hill, as he proposed to introduce the cultivation of cotton and cocoa.

M. Péron, the historian of the French Exploring Expedition, went on a visit to his countryman in 1802, though with no expectation of changing his devotion to a legitimate sovereign. He describes "a beautiful plantation of cotton plants, yielding cotton of various shades, and especially that peculiar to the fine nankeen of China, a fast colour hitherto not obtained, whether by dint of culture or dyeing." The cotton planters of New South Wales and Queensland have, therefore, this French Colonel for the father of their undertaking. The worthy settler was sanguine enough, telling Péron, "In a short time I shall have created two branches of commerce and exportation for this colony of the greatest value." He then gave utterance to this noble sentiment, "I have but this means left of acquitting the sacred debt I owe to a nation which gave me shelter in the hour of misfortune."

Two Frenchmen were sent out in 1800 to teach the people

of New South Wales how to grow grapes and make wine. A cooper was to provide the casks for the liquor. The Secretary of State informed the Governor, April 22nd, 1800, and enclosed a paper professedly written by the Frenchmen, entitled, "Method of preparing a piece of land for the purpose of forming a vineyard." A pretty sketch was forwarded of not less than twenty-five different instruments the vine-dressers deemed essential for their work.

Wheat grown in the colony was purchased by Government,—the ration providers. The Ministry, having been shocked at the high prices given, ordered the Governor to reduce the rate. He attempted to lower it 20 per cent., but could not persist in his resolution, as he said, "under the present misfortunes of the colony;" that is, after the flood of 1799. Furthermore he reported:—"The settlers declined getting any wheat ready for the store, at the reduced price, giving as a reason that they were naked and wretched for want of every common necessary." In August, while the Government farm gave but 300 acres wheat, and 100 maize, the farmers had 4365 of one, and 2830 of the other.

In 1801, and again in the month of March, another flood took place at the Hawkesbury. Captain King refers to three floods there within three weeks, when in a district he calls "the finest soil in the world," the people had "their stock of swine nearly all drowned." The average harvest at the Hawkesbury, which was then about "25 bushels to the acre," was declared to be double that at the other settlements. In that year there were 8421 acres cropped.

The Frenchmen again appear on the scene, in 1802. The Governor notes the result of their labours on the grant at Parramatta, the land having a northern aspect at the request of the vine men. In March, Captain Phillip says, "the management of vines not being understood, they failed so much, that for the last two years not twenty pounds were produced, except from a vine here and there, in situations entirely sheltered from the southerly and south-easterly

winds." He continues :—" In December, 1800, two Frenchmen, engaged by Government to superintend the growth of vines, and make wine, arrived here. As the vines then in the colony were all that remained of those first planted in gardens, and quite spoiled by bad management and other causes, they planted about 7000 cuttings in the most favourable situations, are now doing well, but it will be at least two years before they bear fruit."

A strange rumour is officially reported, November 9th, 1802 :—" Several evil-disposed persons had endeavoured to propagate a report among the settlers that Government would continue to send out flour, and that they had no occasion to cultivate their grounds." The industry, intelligence, and enterprise must have been at a very low ebb for such a stupid story to obtain any currency. The Secretary of State, however, is told there is no need to send any more flour to the colony from England. The want of enterprise is thus exposed in the despatch of this year :—" It can scarcely be credited that in a soil and climate equal to the production of any plant or vegetable, out of 405 settlers scarcely one grew either potatoes or cabbage, till the want they experienced during the last years has enforced the necessity of cultivating gardens. Growing wheat and maize, which are the articles required by the public stores, has been their only object, and when this has been obtained it has often occurred that one night's drinking at the house of one of those agents has eased them of all their labour had acquired the preceding year."

It is not more satisfactory to learn from the Governor, in March, 1802, that "only one settler has reserved the produce of the ewes given him." The gift was to enable the farmer to raise a flock for himself ; but we are assured that the rest had "been suffered to sell theirs a few hours after Governor Phillip left the colony." The officials, in 1803, ascertained that of 125,476 acres granted, 16,624 were cleared, 7118 in wheat, and 5279 in maize. The Secretary of State having

recommended rice-growing on the flooding banks of the Hawkesbury, a trial was made. The result is thus recorded in May, 1803 :—“Generally failed from the dry weather we have had, and the almost total impossibility of irrigating it.” The banks of this stream were not available for rice, even though the people put real seed into the ground instead of the prepared article they had tried before. It was gratifying to be assured by His Excellency that “the average produce of wheat throughout the colony may be under-rated at 18 bushels per acre.” The virgin soil even in such hands threw a good crop.

Prizes were offered that year, to be adjudged in April, 1804, to encourage the farmers. They were “For twenty acres of wheat and thirty of maize, of forward crop, in the best and highest state of cultivation, cleanest, and clearest of weeds.” The prize was two heifers and two ewes. For the best fifteen acres of wheat and twenty of maize, one heifer ; and for the best ten of wheat and fifteen of maize, two ewes.

The Governor was very anxious to get ploughs at work. As these required oxen, he told the Secretary of State, August 7th, 1803, “I am planting artificial grasses for the labouring cattle in Government,” He then expressed himself desirous of “furnishing deserving settlers with cattle either by hire or by sale ;” adding, “many deserving characters among that class are availing themselves of this indulgence, which I fixed at the most reasonable rate, to induce them to throw aside the hoe and substitute the plough.” Even before this he issued the ORDER, May 7th :—

“Such approved settlers as may procure ploughs (the iron necessary for making which will be supplied by Government, on being paid for in wheat) will be furnished with oxen for labour, in such proportion as the merits and exertions of the settler may require, and induce the Governor to grant. Such lent oxen are to be paid for in wheat, in the proportion of ten bushels of wheat a year for two years, when the ox or

oxen are each to be purchased for seventy bushels of wheat, otherwise to be returned to Government."

The grape story of this year is brief. On September 17th the Captain wrote, "The Frenchmen are going on planting; but I am sorry to say the little wine they made last year is of a very indifferent quality."

The Record Office in London has a letter dated June 29th, 1803, from one Alexander Riley to Secretary Lord Hobart. He discourses of the growth of opium, rhubarb, indigo, fustic, hemp, the mulberry, the olive, &c., in New South Wales, which he is prepared to introduce there, under favour of the State. "Private emolument," he says, "does not in the most remote view enter my wishes. I should be happy with any appointment it might be thought proper, under the circumstances, to settle on me." He gives a very useful hint, well acted upon in other years:—"If monied men saw that, independent of being able to raise a support for their friends by the customary cultivation of the land, that there was also a channel of lucratively employing their property in cultivating likewise articles of commerce, it is certain that there are numbers of the most creditable families that would immediately embrace the advantageous opportunity."

It was not till 1804 that flour was substituted for wheat in rations. This was owing to an ingenious convict, who constructed a water-mill, that made shorter work with the grinding. The Governor ordered him a gratuity of £50. But the Hawkesbury farmers petitioned in January against any reduction in the rate of purchase of grain. The *rust* began to try them. Holt speaks of one attack, saying of a crop, "In three days it was completely destroyed by the rust, and the produce of 266 acres was not worth £20." That refers to the farm belonging to Mr. Cox, for whom Holt acted as overseer. In February there were in wheat 7110 acres; maize, 4388; barley, 524; oats, 38; peas and beans, 55; potatoes, 263; and enclosed in pasture, 108,837.

The Governor, on March 1st, 1804, gave his chief in

London some farming intelligence. Concerning hops, he wrote:—"It would be a great benefit if a thousand well-established hop plants could be put on board any whaler coming direct. There are now about forty thriving hop-plants, growing from a quantity of seed brought by an officer in 1802."

The Frenchmen and their vines are introduced in this letter. "After a trial of three years," says he, "I do not find the success attending the culture and management of the grapes will in any degree compensate for the expense attending that object, as this is the third year they have generally been blighted, which has prevented me employing more men in attending to that cultivation. The two Frenchmen, natives of Nantz, who came out in 1800 to manage this object, knew very little of the business. They attempted last year to make wine from some of the best grapes that could be collected, but it turned out so bad, that I shall not trouble your lordship with a sample."

In 1805 we have further particulars. Government cultivated 640 acres of wheat, 200 of maize, 110 of barley and oats, 58 of flax and hemp, besides having 267 fallow, and 80,823 of pasture. At the same time 327 settlers held lots up to 30 acres, growing 2530 acres of wheat, 1215 of maize, 296 of barley and oats, 100 of peas and beans, with 218 fallow, but only 1553 of pasture. In all, 594 settlers, large and small farmers, held 136,684 acres; of which 8245 were in wheat, 4066 in maize, 311 in barley, 60 in flax and hops, 64 in orchards, 4119 in fallow, and 118,684 in pasture. This evidences a rapid growth of agriculture.

Parramatta got its first water-mill in February. Encouragement for the production of exotic timber, notably of English trees, was held forth in an *order* of July 7th. The question of labour crops up in a despatch of November 1st, 1805, showing that the demand for labour on the ever-increasing farms had very considerably lessened the expenses of the Treasury for the maintenance of convicts. Captain King

reported that "The settlers and cultivators who are so considerably increased by what are called *Free Settlers* from England, discharged soldiers, and some few who have been settled from prisoners whose terms of transportation are expired, experience a great want of labouring men to perform the necessary work of agriculture."

The great event of 1806 was the terrible flood of the Hawkesbury, which rose about 90 feet beyond the ordinary level. As so much more land was in cultivation, the desolation was the greater over previous inundations. The March of that year was long remembered. In one day about a couple of hundred wheat stacks were seen floating out to sea. The loss was far above £30,000. Mr. Biggers is credited with having, by means of a boat, saved the lives of 150 persons.

Just before the flood, on March 15th, Governor King sent off his last official letter, which has several agricultural notices. Referring to wheat, he wrote:—"It is not my intention to discourage the growth of that valuable grain; but I do not think it safe for the settlement to rely wholly on wheat for the general support of every class of the inhabitants. It is soon destroyed in the fields by the blight, rust, smut, and caterpillars; also, in this climate, by fire, both in harvests and in the stack, and by weevils and born moths when in the granary. Added to which, when the wheat is continually sowed on the same land, it impoverishes it so much, that if the crop is not destroyed by any of the above common evils, the produce will be small." This reflection leads him to say, "The period is not far distant when maize must be more generally used."

Governor Bligh, August 26th, 1806, had the unpleasant work of communicating the news of another great flood of the Hawkesbury. He remarks, "The wheat and barley which have been sent out in the *Sinclair* will not grow; so that the intention of Government in giving a supply of seed is of no effect." The state of the Government farming is then chronicled. These were 609 acres in wheat, 387 in

maize, 1005 in barley, 80 in oats, 35 in beans, 433 in orchard and garden, 185 in fallow, and 145,481 in pasture.

Labour for farms tried Captain Bligh. He told the Ministry : "A sawyer will cut 100 feet of timber for a bottle of spirits, value half-a-crown, which he drinks in a few hours, when for the same labour he would charge two bushels of wheat, which would furnish bread for him for two months. Hence those who have got no liquor to pay their labourers with are ruined by paying more than they can possibly afford for any kind of labour."

Norfolk Island, in consequence of its fertility of soil, was a famous farming region of old. Major Ross, February 11th, 1791, describes his possession of 800 or 900 vines, good bananas, and sugar-cane growing in the greatest luxuriance. He had 1800 bushels of potatoes from 10 acres. But caterpillars took off 21 acres of crop, and blight destroyed others. He grew 32 acres of fine maize. Lieutenant King reported :—"The wheat which was sown in the garden-ground on the 2nd was entirely eat up with rats by the 4th." Of six ewes landed on the island, he had lost five by the scab.

About the best of the primitive farms of the colony was thus described by its owner, Captain MacArthur, in a letter addressed to Governor King, offering the whole for sale to Government, as he was then proceeding to England. His 50 head of cattle were valued at £1850 ; 10 horses, at £650 ; and 600 sheep, £1500. He wrote :—"As the selling the whole stock at one time would be very desirable, Captain MacArthur will, for the above sum of £4000, give in with the stock his farm contiguous to the town of Parramatta, on which is a good brick dwelling-house and other convenient buildings, with near 300 acres of cleared land well fenced in ; also his grass farm, consisting of 1000 acres, 100 of which is cleared and has on it large and roomy sheds and buildings for sheltering the stock, all newly built."

## PASTORAL PROGRESS.

As Australia, for a number of years, has maintained the proud position of being the principal squatting region of the world, the one above all which furnishes a sufficiency of natural food to supply its stock, the history of the early struggles of this important industry cannot fail to be instructive as well as interesting. With animal food so cheap there now, one may well marvel to see how long it took for flocks and herds to spread in early days. Enjoying the glory now of the possession of 30,000,000 sheep, and its honourable rank among wool-producers, New South Wales can afford to smile at the primitive period when a wretched-looking, hairy tribe of bleaters monopolized the scanty pastures around Port Jackson.

They who went to place a convict settlement in New Holland never dreamed that in a short time a free and energetic race would spread along the coast centres of commercial enterprise and manufacturing skill, and plant within the vast interior that pastoral tree, whose descending branches, like as in the Indian Banyan, transformed to stems, threw out ever-increasing circles of fruitfulness to fill the land.

There was very little wisdom exhibited in the organization of the party, or in the arrangements for the establishment of a colony. New South Wales, unlike New England, was not formed by a hardy band of earnest men, unfavoured by the State, but fleeing for freedom to forest wilds in America, and absolutely dependent on their own exertion for the means of existence. It was, on the contrary, a Government colony of offenders against the law, and was conducted under the auspices of sailor governors for twenty years. Such officials at home, like as at Port Jackson, were accustomed to ration others on salt provisions ; and the miserable cask beef and pork of the period would be considered as suitable for convicts as for seamen.

Still, it seems strange that the Whitehall Lords, so used to farms on their British estates, should not have thought more of the necessity or advantage of stocking the new land with cattle and sheep. But officials, who quite overlooked the need of a chaplain for the thousand transported ones from home, were quite capable of forgetting that which was as needful for the body as the clergyman was for the soul. At the last moment, the care of a Wilberforce provided for the neglect in the one case; but no enthusiastic agriculturist came to the rescue in the other.

As to stock, it may be truly said that scarcely a minute's reflection was bestowed upon the subject till the arrival of the first fleet at the Cape of Good Hope in October, 1787. But from Cape Town Captain Phillip took 2 bulls, 7 cows, 3 horses, 44 sheep, 32 pigs. One authority gives the original stock landed at Sydney to be 3 mares, 3 colts, 1 bull, 1 bull calf, 3 cows, 4 rams, 40 sheep, 2 boars, and 26 sows. It is known that 5 other sows were killed by lightning, and that most of the sheep died very shortly for want of grass. The Governor wrote: "It is the rank grass under the trees which has destroyed them."

A great misfortune occurred in June 1788, which is thus chronicled by Captain Tench:—"The whole of our black cattle, consisting of 5 cows and a bull, either from not being properly secured, or from the negligence of those appointed to take care of them, strayed into the woods, and, in spite of all the search we have been able to make, are not yet found." An officer, whose pamphlet was published in London, 1789, adds this information:—"The cow that still remains, being more carefully looked after because she was with calf, has escaped the fate of her *two* companions." It was under such untoward circumstances that the herds of Australia had their origin.

The total eclipse of pastoral hopes seemed coming over when, in April, three months after landing, five of a flock of six ewes were carried off by scab; and when, in his despatch

of September 28th, the Governor wrote :—"The colony, not being in a state to support any considerable quantity of live stock, may be under the necessity at present of frequently killing a part of what they have for want of food to support them." He added :—"I have now given up all hopes of recovering the two bulls and four cows that were lost, and one sheep only remains of upwards of 70 which I had purchased at the Cape."

The primitive settlers had no faith in the country on whose shores they were cast by Government as bondsmen or gaolers. They felt themselves exiles, and not emigrants in search of a home. They beheld a strange land with soil hopeless for agriculture, and pasture so scanty and poor as not to furnish food enough to keep a few dozen sheep and cattle alive. Such a want of energy on the part of the population, and of knowledge or tact in the rulers, may well account for the failures in the little settlement.

Another serious difficulty appeared, which the croakers soon exaggerated in their minds, and which seemed to confirm the prevalent notion that nothing of a European growth could prosper in so strange a region, so truly antipodean a place, as that where animals were raised in maternal pouches. This difficulty was that far more males than females were born among the stock. Captain Collins exclaimed :—"But here, where a country was to be stocked, a litter of twelve pigs, whereof three only were females, became a subject of conversation and inquiry. Out of seven kids which had been produced in one month, only one was a female." Governor Phillip, not the most hopeful of men, made this fact the subject of a most mournful letter to his London chief.

Quite a number of years passed before Government appeared to take much interest in this stock question. And yet, not a despatch ever went from Whitehall, or afterwards from Downing Street, without expressions of regret and even of alarm at the drain upon the Treasury for colonial expenses of food. Shipments of salt provisions were never sufficient for

the need. But, as Captain Hill said in 1790, "Had half that sum been laid out in the purchase of cattle, the place had now been tenable, and we should have wanted little if any assistance from the British Government." Yet, notwithstanding the earnest and repeated requests from the Governor, the Ministry showed a singular remissness in this duty. At the end of December, 1791, Captain Phillip was constrained to observe:—"It now only wants one month of four years since I landed in this settlement, during which time all the public live stock which has been received is not more than would be necessary for one good farm."

To private enterprise, and not to State patronage, has the colony been indebted for the success of the pastoral movement. To two men above all should colonists be grateful—Mr. John MacArthur and the Rev. Samuel Marsden. The former, in his military, political, and commercial career made enemies, it is true; while the latter was not without some loss of reputation from magisterial and mercantile transactions. Both, however, in their care of flocks, their improvement of breeds, and their attention to wool, gave that needful impetus to the industry which secured it the thoughtful attention of British merchants, and stimulated colonists to enter upon so desirable an occupation. Each must, in due course, tell his tale of progress.

Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) King exhibited some ardour in the work. When in the *Gorgon* he called in at Cape Town. Here he ordered 3 bulls, 19 cows, 50 ewes, 10 sows, 3 rams, besides rabbits and poultry. In his apologetic letter to Evan Nepean, Esq., Under-Secretary of State, he said:—"No other consideration than the knowledge I have of the great want of black cattle, sheep, &c., to breed from, and having every reason to suppose that it was the intention of His Majesty's Ministers that stock should be transported from hence to New South Wales, could have induced me to take the unauthorized step of drawing for the payment." He professed to be somewhat astonished at his

own presumption, but took as his shield the conviction that the British Government did mean to do something for the colony had they been less pressed from other quarters. On October 27th, 1791, he addressed from Norfolk Island this broad hint to the Sydney magnate :—"Should a 40-gun ship be sent for the purpose of bringing cattle to this colony, I think 100 black cattle, 200 sheep, and a quantity of stores might be landed here very safely." No 40-gun ship could be spared then for such an object.

It is sad to relate that Mr. King's speculation was not an entire success. All the bulls by the *Gorgon* died on the passage. Governor Phillip, in giving this news in March, 1792, added :—"A few draft-horses, and from 15 to 20 asses, with two or three English rams, are much wanted, and the English ewes would do better in this country than the Cape ewes, which grow too fat to breed." In another mournful pleading, October 2nd, 1792, he declares :—"The period at which the colony will supply its inhabitants with animal food is nearly as distant at present as when I first landed in this country."

But Mr. Secretary Dundas had not been insensible ; for on July 14th, 1792, we have him writing to Captain Phillip :—"I have some hope that you may receive a few sheep, or horned cattle, or both, by the *Royal Admiral* from the Cape." Still, he expresses the opinion :—"It is to Bengal that I chiefly look for a supply of that nature." Some months after he sent the *Daedalus* thither for the conveyance of stock. It is unsatisfactory to learn that—"Out of 25 cows, 3 bulls, 62 ewes, 21 rams, and 11 swine taken on board at the Cape, we lost 8 cows, 3 bulls, 8 ewes, and 3 boars." "A horse," says Lieutenant Bond, "that cost 40 dollars at the Cape, sold for 100 in Sydney."

Pigs did uncommonly well, both in Sydney and on Norfolk Island. It was deemed necessary, as early as July 17th, 1793, to issue the following *Public Order*, on account of a Sydney nuisance :—"All hogs seen in the streets that are

not yoked, and have not rings in their noses, are ordered to be shot." Another *order* notices their defilement of the *Tanks*, that petty stream which alone supplied Sydney with water.

The Cape of Good Hope and Bengal furnished the first flocks and herds. These animals were neither handsome nor useful. In Atkinson's *Account of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales*, we read this description of the primitive sheep:—"A very unsightly and diminutive race, covered with long, coarse hair, and more resembling the goat in appearance." The cattle were bad milkers. They were said to resemble their buffalo ancestors of India, being "remarkable for large haunches on their shoulders, and a thick skin, covered with smooth, shining hair. They are small, and of little or no use for the dairy, but fatten readily on inferior keep." The poor breed of horses is thus accounted for by that ancient grazier:—"The high price naturally tempting the owners to put any mare to the horse, however deficient in the requisite qualities for a good brood mare, and the sum demanded for the service of the best horses obliging the poorer breeders to content themselves with such horses as they could send their mares to at a cheap rate."

It is noted as one peculiarity of those times that shepherds were often prohibited having dogs. But the flocks were small for each man's charge. The diseases of sheep were not severe. Excepting in a few places, fluke was uncommon, and rot was rarely seen. Atkinson mentions the "foothalt, from a small worm or maggot, which insinuates itself between the claws." He recognizes the *scab*; but only "when the sheep are badly kept," or "when they are fed or folded upon wet land."

The great event of 1794 was the discovery of the lost cattle that strayed from the herdsman early in 1788. The man had sought for them in vain, and was found by others in the bush in almost the last stage of exhaustion. Although diligent search was made for the wanderers, nothing could be

learned of them, and it was concluded that the natives had speared and eaten them. But soon after the arrival of Governor Hunter, there were rumours of cattle-tracks. At last, some one asserted he had gained a view of the missing animals. The Governor was deeply interested in their recovery, and set off with a party in pursuit. He afterwards told the story to the Secretary of State.

He had gone to the Nepean country, to what was afterwards known as the *Cow Pastures*, some 40 miles from Parramatta. Getting upon a hill, the whole herd of 60 came into view. Thinking to bring down a calf, he went nearer. Then, said he, they found themselves charged "most furiously by a large and very furious bull," which they were obliged to shoot in self-defence.

"I was now satisfied," wrote he, "that they were the Cape of Good Hope breed, and no doubt the offspring of those we lost in 1788." After much consideration, he came to the conclusion what was best to be done, saying:—"To recover them to a domestic state will, I think, be attended with much difficulty and some danger, as well, I think, as detrimental to their rapid increase. I also think that if it were attempted, and without success, which is more than probable, it might be the cause of their quitting this part of the country."

It was resolved, then, to let them alone awhile. The region they had selected, being over the Nepean river, could easily be made *tabooed* or prohibited ground, so that there be no molestation. This being done, the cattle became the celebrated *Government herd*, to be placed under proper surveillance, and furnish settlers from time to time with means for the commencement of dairies, and the inhabitants with the occasional treat of fresh beef. In subsequent years *Public Orders* were issued relative to this valuable stock. One of the earliest was in December 18th, 1795, and indicated the care of the authorities:—"It having been reported to the Governor that some person or persons who

have been permitted to keep arms for the protection of themselves and property, have lately employed that indulgence in an attempt to destroy the cattle belonging to Government, which had strayed from the place a few years ago; and, as the preservation of that stock is of the utmost importance to this colony at large," &c. Then follow sundry threats of punishment for any such offenders.

The earliest calculation of the public and private stock, excluding the Government herd, is contained in a report from Mr. Commissary Palmer, June 15th, 1795. Therein we learn that Government owned 11 bulls and bullocks, while only two were in possession of the settlers; the latter, too, had but 16 cows, while the State proprietary had 77. But the conditions change with sheep; of which Government owned 74 ewes and 70 wethers and rams, but the people had 531 ewes and 157 of the others. It was so with the goats, in the proportion of 13 to 972; and with horses, of which 12 belonged to the officials and 37 to the settlers. There were also 7 asses in the settlement. Altogether, the goats, 985, outnumbered the sheep, which were 832.

In 1796, Captain MacArthur memorialized His Majesty's Ministers that every settler be provided by Government with two breeding sows, and that all the male progeny be reputed his own property; but that if he take good care of the stock during two years, he should then be allowed to claim the females as well. He begged also that settlers should have the privilege of selling to the public store their barrow-pigs at 9d. a pound. It was in this letter that we have the important suggestion of aid to that which is now the leading Industry of Australia. The passage is the following:—

"That, as the raising of grazing animals is of still more importance than the raising of hogs, all persons who should discover a desire to benefit this colony by their care of such animals would receive every possible encouragement."

The following table of stock was prepared in September,

1796. There were then belonging to Government 59 hogs; to civil and military officers having farms, 889; to settlers of other sorts, chiefly emancipists, 921; a total of 1869 swine in the colony. While on the Government farms there were 111 goats, the officers had 1176, and the settlers had 140, or 1427 in all. Of sheep, the first had but 191, the officers owned 1310, but the settlers had only 30; total—1531 sheep. Settlers possessed there no horses; Government but 14; yet the officers had 43. On the other hand, most of the cattle were held by Government; that is, 37 bulls, 67 cows, and 46 oxen, exclusive of the wild herd; the officers having 37 bulls, 34 cows, and 6 oxen. The grand total was 57 horses, 227 cattle, 1531 sheep, 1427 goats, 1869 hogs, and 480 dozen fowls; the wild cattle could not be counted.

Though, in June 1797, the *Supply* transport brought 27 cows and 35 sheep, 10 cattle and 18 sheep were lost on the way. On November 1st, 1798, Governor Hunter wrote home about a labour difficulty; saying that:—"A trusty, well qualified, and respectable character becomes highly requisite to have the general care of the different flocks, and the direction of the herdsmen that attend them, who are all convicts of the most mischievous and worthless description."

A very curious demand was made by Captain Phillip, ex-Governor, June 5th, 1799, in a letter addressed from Portsmouth. He had heard of the finding of the lost cattle, and of their being constituted the Government herd. Now he claims that of the five then running away, two belonged to himself. He asks Governor King for redress, observing:—"As two of the cows last seen after our landing in New South Wales were my property, I have an undoubted claim to share in the cattle since found to have increased in so extraordinary a manner." His Excellency corresponded on the subject with the Secretary of State, and procured for the claimant some compensation.

The stock report of August, 1799, may well be compared

with that furnished three years before. There were now 47 horses and 91 mares; 192 bulls and oxen; 517 cows; 2016 male sheep, and 3087 female; 912 male goats, and 1851 female. The total was 138 horses, 709 cattle, 5103 sheep, 2763 goats, and 3459 hogs. Captain Hunter, who sent home this year some wool, reported, "The breed of sheep which produced this wool is between the Cape ram and Bengal ewe." He did not allude to sheep originally brought from Ireland in 1793, which had been accidentally purchased by Captain MacArthur.

The returns for March, 1800, gave 830 cattle, 3090 goats, 3390 hogs, and 5700 sheep. The Governor (August 15th) notes the numbers belonging to *individuals* as distinguished from the stock of the State. While the latter owned but 9 swine, the former had 4008; of goats 12, and the others 2170. Of horses, 27 female and 3 male belonged to Government, but 116 and 57 to the rest. In sheep the one held 198 male and 427 female; the settlers, 1833 and 3666. But the public herd was still the larger, having 526 female and 239 male; while the cattle had by outsiders were 186 female and 93 male. The total was 1044 cattle, 203 horses, 2182 goats, 4017 pigs, and 6124 sheep.

Captain MacArthur, as mentioned in the chapter on agriculture, had offered his farm and stock to Government on his leaving for a visit to England. Authority to purchase these was not given till June, 1801. At the same time a decided reproof is administered to this gentleman's military superior for permitting a subordinate on public service to be so absorbed in private cares. The Secretary of State took this opportunity of supporting the views of the colonial rulers, who had so often referred to the trading propensities of the military:—"Considering Captain MacArthur," said the Minister, "in the capacity of an officer on duty with his regiment, I can by no means account for his being a farmer to the extent he appears to be, and must highly disapprove of the Commanding Officer of the corps to which he belongs

allowing him, or any other officer, to continue in such contradictory situations and characters."

The Governor was quite jubilant in his despatch of August, 1801, respecting the herd. Writing to the Duke of Portland, he said :—"Your Grace will observe that more than one-third of the 343 cows are calving daily, whilst the rest are in an increasing state, which must make the increase very great in two years more, especially when the 150 cows from India are arrived." Captain King was a sailor, but it is presumed that his Grace, as an agriculturist, would make all due allowance for the gentleman's calculation, how about 120 cows should be calving *daily*, though there may not be a great doubt about the rest being in an *increasing state*? In the previous September he had expressed this sensible opinion :—"As the cattle and horses we possess are only of the small African or Indian breed, I should humbly beg leave to suggest the great advantage that would arise to the future welfare of the colony if a breed of English cattle and horses for labour be sent."

Certainly that was long before the institution of Acclimatization Societies, but it does appear strange that Government, though the absolute proprietor as well as ruler of the colony, should have taken so little interest in the question of stock improvements, and that English gentlemen, from patriotic or benevolent impulses, did not lend assistance in this direction.

The wild cattle gave our sailor governors a deal of trouble, even after they were found, but not caught. Captain King wrote home that "it would be very desirable that some person well acquainted with the mode of taming wild cattle in South America be engaged and teach the colonists that necessary art." The Australian stock-whip, the Australian stock-horse, and the Australian stock-rider had not then come into existence, and modern stockmen might well smile at the expedients to bring these wild grazing animals under subjection. One plan is herein described by Captain King

progress of the breed of fine-woollen sheep in New South Wales." The communication is dated London, July 26th, 1803. This is, for Australian colonists, one of the most important State papers in the 'Public Records' Office. Extracts therefrom will have especial interest to all graziers and farmers :—

"Captain MacArthur considers it his duty respectfully to represent to His Majesty's Ministers that he has found, from an experience of many years, the climate of New South Wales is peculiarly adapted to the increase of fine-woollen sheep, and that from the unlimited extent of luxuriant pastures with which that country abounds, *millions* of these valuable animals may be raised in a few years, with but little other expense than the hire of a few shepherds. The specimens of wool of Captain MacArthur, and others with him, have been inspected by the best judges of wool in the kingdom, and they are of opinion it possesses a softness superior to many of the wools of Spain. . . . The fleece of one of the sheep originally imported from the Cape of Good Hope has been valued here at 4s. 6d. a pound, and a fleece of *the same kind* bred in New South Wales is estimated at 6s. a pound."

He follows with some details; as "He crossed all the mixed-breed ewes, of which his flocks were composed, with Spanish rams. The lambs produced by this cross were much improved; but when *these* were *again crossed* the change far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. In four crosses he is of opinion no distinction will be perceptible between the pure and the mixed breed. As a proof of the extraordinary and rapid improvement of his flocks, Captain MacArthur has exhibited the fleece of a coarse-woollen ewe, that has been valued at 9d. per pound, and the fleece of *her lamb*, begotten by a Spanish ram, which is allowed to be worth 3s. per pound."

"Captain MacArthur has now about 4000 sheep, amongst whom there are no rams left but of the Spanish breed. He

calculates that they will, with proper care, double themselves every two and a-half years, and that in 20 years will be so increased as to produce as much fine wool as is now imported from Spain and other countries at an annual expense of £1,800,000 sterling. Half his flock has been raised from 30 ewes purchased in 1793 out of a ship from India, and from about 8 or 10 Spanish and Irish sheep purchased since. The other half of his flock were obtained in 1801 by purchase from an officer who had raised them at the same time, and from about the same number of ewes that Captain MacArthur commenced with." Further, "In 1796 (since when not 300 sheep have been imported), 1531 were returned as the public and private stock of the colony. In 1801, 6757 were returned; and although between these periods all the males have been killed as soon as they become fit, yet there was a surplus over the calculation of 633."

After this most interesting historical statement, Mr. MacArthur comes to the consideration of the practical. Why does he give the State this information? Not merely to please or instruct the officers of Government, or even to interest them in colonial affairs. He desires a boon from Government on behalf of other flock-masters and himself. He knows that pastures are abundant enough in the wilds of New South Wales, but that the governors hold these in safe custody, in the supposed interests of the Crown. He wishes to *unlock the lands*. Therefore it is he urges this plea:—"All the encouragement he humbly solicits for, is the *protection* of Government, permission to occupy a sufficient tract of unoccupied lands to feed his flocks, and the indulgence of selecting from among the convicts such men for shepherds as may from their previous occupations know something of the business."

Here we have in this letter the Squatting System shadowed forth. Undoubtedly, whatever his supposed political errors and his devotion to self-aggrandisement, Captain MacArthur was the genuine hero of Land Reform in the Australian

colonies, and the active means by which the door was opened for the occupation of the so-called *Crown Lands*.

Governor King offered a premium early in this year to encourage the poorer settlers in the production of meat. *His Order* was:—"To those who breed the greatest number of swine, and return not less than 4000 lbs. at sixpence per pound into the stores from March 1st to August 1st, 1803, one heifer and one ewe." The loan of stock is thus referred to in *Public Order*, May 7th:—"Cows, one remove from the Bengal breed, to deserving settlers with families, will continue to be occasionally lent and bartered for on the same terms as the oxen, excepting their hire being 30 bushels of wheat per year, and their increase the property of the settlers. The cow to be purchased at the end of two years for 85 bushels of wheat." This would make the value of a cow at that time to be over £40. Such a cow, or one of much better breed, might be had there now for an eighth of the amount.

In May of 1803, the Governor names the wild cattle again, and some fresh measures taken to lay hold of these impracticable creatures. "During the past year," said he, "several experiments have been made of obtaining some of these animals by laying snares, driving them, and several other expedients." Some other folks besides those under orders from the Government guardian of the herds ventured across the Nepean in pursuit of a beefsteak. These are duly warned by proclamation, July 8th, 1803:—

"Whereas there is great reason to suppose that some persons not duly authorized do make a practice of going to those parts beyond the Nepean, the strayed cattle resort, for the purpose of killing them, whereby many are wounded, to prevent which it is hereby ordered that if any person whatever frequent the Cow Pastures, or pass the Nepean, without a permit signed by the Governor, stating for what purpose that permission is given, he or they will on conviction be put to hard labour for six months as a vagrant; and if any person whatever, not authorized, shall presume to kill any of the

above black cattle, male or female, they shall be punished to the utmost rigour of the law."

Two stock returns appear in 1803. That of July gives 352 horses, 2447 cattle, 7890 swine, and 11,232 sheep. But one a month after rates the horses 358, goats 1739, cattle 2450, pigs 9105, sheep 11,275. The records for 1804 are most important for their references to pastoral affairs. On February 1st there were 374 horses, 395 oxen, 784 bulls, 1909 cows, 4839 male sheep and 7836 female, 803 male and 1549 female goats, and 10,918 swine. Two flockmasters, Lieutenant Brabyn and the Colonial Chaplain, wrote this declaration on July 17th:—"We are of opinion that a flock of sound healthy ewes are worth £2 sterling per head."

The wild herds continued to trouble our sailor Governor. They clearly declined the blessings of civilization, and held themselves aloof from the control of a master. Captain King, on March 1st, narrated other projects for a capture, but was unable to assure the Secretary of State that success had followed the means.

"Our efforts," he wrote, "have not succeeded beyond taking two calves, which now herd with the tame cattle, and six strayed bulls that were killed and salted for public use during last winter. An effort had been made persistently by enticing them with tame cattle, and trying to surround them with men and horses, and driving a large herd of two hundred toward the Nepean, but this also failed, after the first attempt. I therefore judged it most advisable to let them be undisturbed for some time." He described how he had sent a reconnoitring party, who reported counting 630, "exclusive of any they saw and heard but could not count." More anxious than ever to seize such a prize, he now proposed the construction of "an extensive and strong enclosure." By the agency of this vast cattle-yard he hoped much; especially as it, said he, "may be facilitated by a few tame cows being put into the enclosure. Should this fail, I know of no expedient

to take them alive after what has been tried, and to kill them would answer no general good purpose."

• Wool, especially in that war time, had too serious an influence upon the trade of England, not to induce the Government to look rather anxiously after a supply of that raw material. Australian wool-growers no less than Yorkshire manufacturers may read with pleasure the subjoined State Paper of the period :—

" The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, having received through the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, a memorial from the merchants and traders of the City of London, concerned in the sale of cloth and other woollen manufactures, on the subject of encouraging the produce of wool in New South Wales ; and also sundry other applications from the woollen manufacturers of Yorkshire and various other parts of the kingdom on the same subject, and also a memorial addressed to this Committee from Captain John MacArthur on the subject of promoting the breed of fine woollen sheep in that colony," &c. After the preamble their Lordships gave their opinion upon the matter, which the very indefatigable Mr. MacArthur had brought before public bodies and others, so as to back up his own private efforts. The opinion is well guarded in expression :—

" That it is *probable* wool of a very fine quality, suited to the manufacture of fine cloth, *may* be produced in New South Wales, and brought to this country at a price which the manufacturers can afford to give for that material." This luminous official declaration was no great help. But their Lordships then took up MacArthur's project of forming a strong English company favoured by the State, to promote wool culture, and thus deliver themselves :—" And this Committee are *inclined* to recommend that Mr. MacArthur's plan should be referred to the Governor of New South Wales, with instructions to give every encouragement to the growth of fine wool." They then indicate the line of encouragement :—" A conditional

grant of lands of a *reasonable* extent may be, *perhaps*, with safety granted to Mr. MacArthur for the pasturage of *sheep only*, provided a power be reserved in such grant to resume the same at any future period, on giving other lands further distant from the cultivated land of the colony."

Cautious as the official decision was, it was important as tending to open up the Crown Lands, hitherto so jealously preserved. No land was sold then, but only granted. It was not an absolute freehold, being liable to resumption by the State. It was not leased or rented, though subject afterwards to a quit rent. That Captain MacArthur secured five thousand acres on any terms was the letting in of water to the holders of stock, and initiated a new order of things. The Committee gave very satisfactory reasons why such an enterprise should have State support, as they "entertain hopes that wool of a fine quality is much wanted and desired by the manufacturers of cloth in England, it being mostly drawn at this time from a country influenced, if not dependent on, France."

Mr. MacArthur's memorial to the Committee is dated London, May 4th, 1804. Therein he suggests the position of the pastures he seeks, saying:—"Your Lordship's memorialist would choose the land ten miles from any of the settlements where there is cultivation, and he would engage in return for the indulgence to supply the public with all the sheep it might be proper to kill at a stipulated price."

The Public Records' Office has also the correspondence between Captain MacArthur and his friend Captain Waterhouse, who had purchased sheep for him long before at the Cape. The letters were intended for the eyes of Ministers. That from MacArthur is dated March 4th, asking Mr. Waterhouse's opinion as to the effect of land grants upon wool-growing. The reply was on March 12th. In this, Mr. Waterhouse combats the common opinion in England, that "the natural pasturage of New South Wales is so rank and coarse that sheep cannot eat it." To this he rejoins:—

"When I left the colony there was not artificial grass sufficient to feed a lamb a week." This is his description of his own flock there :—"It was a small one, short of a hundred, all the Spanish breed and their offspring. They were drove into the woods after the dew was off the grass, drove back for the man to get his dinner, and then taken out again till the close of the evening, when they remained in the yard for the night."

Captain Hunter, the ex-Governor, when examined by the Committee of Privy Council, was asked, "Were there any Spanish sheep?" His answer was, "Two officers whom I sent to the Cape of Good Hope had an opportunity of making there a purchase of some Spanish sheep, which had belonged to Colonel Gordon, a Dutch officer well known." The fact was, that the Dutch Boers were so fond of their own hair-covered sheep which produced such magnificent fat tails, that they had no opinion of the delicate Merino that gave only fine wool and no fat tail.

Proposals for a Pastoral Company, to operate in New South Wales, came out in London, January 3rd, 1804. By the terms of agreement it was arranged, "That Captain MacArthur retain in his own right a sufficient number of shares to secure to the Company his utmost attention in promoting the intended object." The circular goes on to say :—"It is proposed that the Company shall engage to distribute amongst the settlers in New South Wales, in any manner Government may be pleased to direct, a certain proportion of the annual increase of their sheep at a stipulated price." The London Syndicate, ready enough to look after securing a good grant of land, were shrewd enough in dealing with the Father of Australian Squatting; for one of their proposals ran thus :—"That the required indulgences being obtained by the Company, the *whole* risk and responsibility shall be borne by Captain MacArthur." This pretty scheme appears to have fallen through, the originator imagining he could manage without the increase of capital at such a loss of independence

and profit. In an old survey, the original sheep-farm of Captain MacArthur lay north of Toongabbe and north-west of Parramatta.

The Government stock, as declared April 6th, 1804, was strong in cattle but feeble in sheep. They had 17 bulls, 681 cows, 1410 calves, and 119 oxen, or 2227 head. They had but 7 rams, 520 ewes, 333 wethers, and 434 lambs. Besides these, there were 43 horses, and 5 asses.

Governor King, by his celebrated proclamation of August 11th, 1804; gave the first great impetus to pastoral pursuits. It began thus:—

“Whereas it is necessary for the preservation and increase of the breeding stock that portions of land should be reserved adjoining those districts where a number of settlements have been fixed in small allotments bounded by others, and it being impracticable to locate larger allotments to all who now possess or may hereafter possess stock, in order to secure to their use pasturage for rearing and maintaining cattle and sheep, his Excellency has deemed it expedient to allot, by grants under His Majesty, certain portions of grazing lands, hereunto stated. . . The leases will be made out in the names of those persons resident in each district, who are named by the rest and approved by the Government.”

This may be called the first charter of Squatterdom. But it was a number of years after this before Squatterdom, as a system of things, was permitted to exist. During the first twenty years of the colony, it could not be said to have been instituted in any way. The march of the pastoral interest, so far as Government action was concerned, was slow and uncertain during the whole of that period. The despatch of August 14th, 1804, refers thus to wool:—

“Leaving out seven-eighths, which have little or no wool, and averaging each of the eighth at three pounds a fleece, the quantity of good wool obtained this year will be about 6200 lbs. The wool may increase in the proportion of two-thirds of the number of sheep bred; but as the fleeces are constantly

improving by the distribution of rams, from the Spanish, Southdown, Teeswater and Irish rams, to those flocks which at present have no other than the hairy covered rams of the Cape and Bengal breed, it may be inferred that the wool will in the two years have a much greater increase." That is an allusion to the views that sheep double their number in about two years.

But the Governor foresaw some important colonial changes by the coming pastoral condition of things. In the same despatch this passage occurs :—

"The bankruptcy of the paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, who had monopolized a great quantity of stock which had been bartered and exchanged by Government, has distributed the stock, so that every industrious settler possesses some of one kind or another. To feed this increasing stock requires pasturage. To give all two or three hundred acres each would soon alienate all the disposable land adjacent to the settlers, and to give particular people three or four hundred acres each in places of their own selection, would soon reduce the small farmer to sell his farm and stock, because he cannot feed them, to the persons who can command money or its worth."

The *Order* of October 14th was in the judicious interest of protection :—"All persons are strictly forbid killing or sending from the territory, or any of its dependencies, any *female stock*, except they have the Governor's permission for killing such as may appear past breeding."

The range of pasturage was very limited in those days, being only comparatively a few miles around Sydney. The beautiful Blue Mountains bounded the horizon to the westward, and bounded also the expectations of all in those early times. There was the comfort of knowing that if those hills were useless for man they would never be attractive to the wild herd. Governor King, on December 20th, had no fear of their straying far beyond their old haunts ; saying :—

"I do not think there is any probability of their being

able to pass through the mountains, as every person who has penetrated far into them, gives an account of their being inaccessible and *void of pasturage*, which must always confine the wild cattle to the rich pasturage between the Hawkesbury and the Nepean." He had no idea that during the third and fourth decade of the colony's history, the country beyond that rocky barrier would have so large a proportion of the stock, and practically become the true squatting region.

Much has been said of how much stock-masters in the colonies are indebted to the judgment and energy of Captain MacArthur. But the second seat of honour is unquestionably due to the Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden. This remarkable man was possessed of that sound common sense, that indefatigable and restless energy, that devotion to country pursuits, as well as a commercial head, so essential to success in a young colony. In agriculture he took a leading part, and introduced valuable objects of growth. In the case of animals he was decidedly successful; and at one time had, next to Captain MacArthur, the greatest number of sheep. His report, therefore, to Governor King, giving the result of his experience, is an important State paper. It is dated August 11th, 1804, and was accompanied with specimens of wool from his flock of 1200.

It was on the occasion of his visit to England that he was favoured with five Spanish Merino sheep from the flock of George III. But the story of one experiment is thus recorded in the report:—

"About eight years ago I began to purchase, when opportunity offered, a few sheep from the different ships which visited this port. They came either from the Cape or India. Their fleeces were in general *hair*. About six years ago I obtained one male and one female Spanish sheep. The male was put to the above hairy ewes. In the first produce there was a wonderful improvement of the fleece, but the sheep were not so large and healthy as I expected, many of them dying when about a year old. I endeavoured to find out the

cause of this mortality, being equally anxious to promote a hardy breed of sheep as well as to improve the fleece. At this time I fed the whole of my sheep in the woodlands. The grass was often very long and coarse, and also wet either with the dews or rain, as the sun could not dry the ground from the thickness of the timber. It occurred to me that the sheep feeding through this long wet grass, in which they were almost covered, was partly the cause of the mortality amongst them. At this time nearly the whole flock appeared sickly, but the produce of the Spanish was much worse than the other common sheep. From this circumstance I inferred that they were more tender and delicate.

"I had now about a hundred acres of land cleared from timber, and under different crops, and was determined when the crops came off to let the ground lie fallow for the sheep to feed upon, especially in wet weather and heavy dews, hoping this would restore the flock to health and strength. My expectation was verified, as the flock immediately recovered. From that time, which was in the year 1800, to this period, the flock have been rapidly improving both in fleece and weight of carcase."

When the writer was at Parramatta, nearly twenty years ago, he met with one of the original inhabitants, who well remembered Parson Marsden being 'mighty fond of sheep.' It was toward the close of the primitive period that one wrote what conveyed the decided belief of the day in England and Sydney. "It has always been found," said he, "that the fleeces of sheep, when arrived within a certain distance of the equator, have invariably lost the character of wool, and gradually assumed that of hair; what that limit may be in New Holland remains yet to be ascertained." Fortunately, the squatter of tropical western Queensland has not discovered this limit, any more than his fellow on the arid plains of the Darling.

When Mr. MacArthur returned to the colony, in the beginning of 1805, he came as a permanent settler, shortly after

relinquishing his connection with the army, though not his sympathy with the members of the New South Wales Corps. Governor King thus notes the fact in his letter of July 20th, 1805 :—" Soon after Mr. MacArthur's arrival we conversed together respecting the objects of his laudable, and I hope successful, pursuits for the general benefit of the colony, as well as for that of his family, which he now regards as attached to the soil, he having bought a ship to be employed in the whale fishery."

But at that interview the gentleman intimated his wish to have the five thousand acre grant, made by the Home Government, selected in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus. Now this region was in the prohibited one west of the Nepean, closed to all but those in charge of Government stock, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the cherished herd of wild cattle, which, not to be caught, were not to be disturbed. He could not falsify himself, and proclaim former *Orders* idle, by acceding to this wish. As Mr. MacArthur declined to take land in any other district than the Cow Pastures, the Governor said he must consult the King. Though ultimately the good site was obtained, the grant was reduced in quantity. His Excellency, however, allowed him thirty convicts as servants on his farm, and graciously added to the favour; saying to his London superior, "I have ordered a hundred of the finest woolled ewes from Government stock to be chosen by this gentleman to add to his own, for which he is to pay into the stores at the rate of £2 sterling for each ewe."

Cordially co-operating for a time with the Governor, Mr. MacArthur, in conjunction with the Rev. S. Marsden, prepared a series of questions, and Captain King despatched the circulars to all flock-masters, July 27th, 1805. In an abbreviated form, the queries may be given as follows :—

1. Have you any true-bred Spanish sheep in your flocks?
2. Do you endeavour to preserve the Spanish breed of sheep pure and unmixed with other breeds?

3. What other breeds of sheep have you that produce fine wool?
4. What rams have you in your flocks, and from whom, and from what country did you obtain them?
5. Do you think breeding the pure Spanish sheep will be as profitable to you as if you bred other kinds?
6. Do you think the wool of other kinds of sheep improved in this colony?
7. How many sheep do you possess at this time?
8. How long do you suppose it will be before your whole flock will be increased to twice their present number?
9. What means have you adopted to improve the carcase and fleece of your sheep?

But it was on the 2nd of October that Mr. MacArthur declared:—"Estimating the sheep in New South Wales at 20,000, a plain arithmetical progression will prove that the present stock may increase in twenty years to five millions!"

It was in 1805 that the claim of ex-Governor Phillip for his share of the recovered black cattle was settled. Some private arrangement was made, doubtless with the knowledge of the Home Authorities, between Captain Phillip and Captain King. So, on June 11th, 1805, this order was sent by the Governor to Mr. Commissary Palmer:—

"You are hereby required to direct the superintendent of the Government herds to draw therefrom the following stock, viz. 100 cows, 50 heifers, 50 young oxen, for the use of my family, being a full discharge of all claims which any of my family, or other person, may have by virtue of a donation of Arthur Phillip, Esq., first Governor of this territory, of his present and future proportion of the cattle run wild on the west side of the Nepean, arising from those which strayed in 1788, which by this exchange becomes the exclusive property of the Crown."

A couple of hundred head then might be worth seven or eight thousand pounds. One is curious to know how much of this came to the lot of the worthy Captain Phillip.

One of the State papers is entitled, "Observations on the Cow Pastures, wild cattle, and the attempts that have been made to cross the mountains by different persons from 1802 to November 2nd, 1805." In this is the story of the trial to catch the herd in 1803, by driving them to some quiet cows. But the observation is made, "However, the wild cattle would not look at the tame ones!" The dashing Chaplain, ever foremost in all that was going on, went on this expedition, and wrote afterwards to the Governor:—"I do not think it will be possible to bring them in by driving, or alive, from the nature of the country and the astonishing places they resort to."

In February, 1805, there were belonging to Government, in Sydney district, or New South Wales proper, 1193 male cattle and 1688 female; 37 horses, 1431 sheep, and 468 swine. On Norfolk Island there were then 26 male and 16 female cattle, 5 horses, 629 sheep, and 309 pigs. Altogether, the State held 2923 cattle, 42 horses, 2060 sheep, 777 pigs. The March returns show that 613 settlers possessed 503 horses, 3944 cattle, 3779 goats, 18,062 hogs, and 17,928 sheep. Another estimate gives 594 settlers, having 801 bulls, 1994 cows, 435 oxen, 2802 goats, 12,514 hogs, and 16,018 sheep. But among 327 settlers, owning each but thirty acres or less, there were only 4 bulls, 8 cows, 17 oxen, 371 goats, 417 sheep, and 4110 pigs.

Governor Bligh, in 1806, came into collision with Mr. MacArthur. He objected, as Captain King had done, to the grant in the Cow Pastures, in the neighbourhood of the wild cattle. At their very first meeting, according to the account given by Mr. MacArthur, an explosion occurred. He was seeking to interest him in the sheep and cattle question, though too evidently to gain the favour of the ruler on behalf of his projects, when the new Governor burst out into a passion, exclaiming, "What have I to do with your sheep, sir? What have I to do with your cattle? Are you to have such flocks of sheep and herds of cattle as no man ever heard of before? No, sir!"

"I endeavoured," said the other, "to appease him, saying, that I understood the Government at home had particularly recommended me to his notice. He replied, 'I have heard of your concerns, sir; you have got 5000 acres of land in the finest situation in the country, but by —— you sha'n't keep it.'"

After this, who could be astonished at the part played against Governor Bligh by Mr. MacArthur? The other two Sydney rulers had been removed, greatly owing to his influence, and the next would be more forcibly and ignominiously brought down. Captain Bligh had no sympathy with flocks and flock-masters; and, certainly, after what he had heard of Captain MacArthur, he felt no identity of interest with that gentleman.

In his time Mr. Blaxland arrived as a settler; and, as Captain Bligh informed the Secretary of State, October 31st, 1807, had "received 1290 acres of land, 60 cows, 1 bull, 4 oxen, and 30 ewes, with 20 men. The payment for the stock to be made by instalments in kind." It was on the 7th of February before that he wrote:—"Our stock of horned cattle are doing extremely well, and will in time secure the country against all want of that kind of food, and I shall endeavour to increase it by taking, *if practicable*, some of the wild cattle which I have seen in the Cow Pastures." These he estimated at about 4000 head. He had no reason to be sanguine as to the wild cattle; saying on October 31st, 1807:—"We mean to entice them by tame cows, and on the same plan to catch their calves. Snares, I fear, will not effect anything to pay for the expense of catching the few such a plan would produce."

Thus feebly, after all, did the pastoral interest progress during the First Twenty Years of Australia.

## PRIMITIVE SYDNEY.

The visitor to the capital of New South Wales, who now admires the stately edifices of the city, the magnificent haunts of commerce, the charming villa residences, and the streets thronged with colonists in fashionable attire, can have but little conception of Sydney as it was during the first score years. And yet, rude as were the primitive huts, unfavourable as the future looked to many, there were not wanting men of faith in their kind, of trust in British enterprise, or of poetic enthusiasm in their souls, who believed in the coming years of Sydney. One of these thus pictured, in 1791, 'Hope's Visit to Sydney Cove' :—

"Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,  
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels ;  
High on a rock, amid the troubled air,  
HOPE stood sublime, and waved her golden hair.  
'Hear me !' she cried, ' ye rising realms record  
Time's opening scenes and Truth's unerring word ;  
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,  
The circus widen, and the crescent bend ;  
There ray'd from cities o'er the cultured land,  
Shall bright canals and solid roads expand,  
Embellish'd villas crown the landscape scene,  
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between,  
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,  
And northern treasures dance on every tide !'  
Then ceased the nymph ; tumultuous echoes roar,  
And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore ;  
Her graceful steps descending press'd the plain,  
And Peace, and Arts, and Labour joined the train."

In his letter to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State, dated September 1st, 1788, Governor Phillip sent a sketch of the settlement. On the eastern side of the Sydney cove, about half way, was a small building used by the Governor, and another by the Lieutenant-Governor. But some rising ground southward, outside the camp, and yet near the running stream, called the *Tanks*, had been set apart for the future residence of his Excellency. The Main Guard and the Criminal Court

were to be also in that vicinity. The two barracks, then only temporary structures, were placed on the western side of the little river that flowed into the southern extremity of Sydney Cove. To the west of the barracks was the principal street—so-called ; and further westward was the ground appropriated for Church purposes. The Stores were to be erected on the north side of the barracks, not far from the mouth of the stream, but on the western side thereof. The Hospital was placed north of the Stores' reserve, on the western slope of the Cove. North of it, again, right on the north-west corner of the Cove, was the Observatory. On the southern side of the adjoining bay, eastward, an enclosure was prepared for the first farm.

The locality, though timbered, was pretty easily cleared for dwellings. Captain Hunter said:—"The trees stand very wide of each other, and have no underwood. In short, the woods on the spot I am speaking of resemble a deer-park." Captain Tench thus indicates the site:—"We continued to run up the harbour about four miles, in a westerly direction, enjoying the luxuriant prospect of its shores, covered with trees to the water's-edge, among which many of the Indians were frequently seen, till we arrived at a small snug cove on the southern side, on whose banks the plan of our operations was destined to commence." An officer wrote:—"The principal street in the new town is laid down here to be 200 feet in breadth." Lieutenant Bond of the Marines declared the harbour "one of the most delightful I ever beheld."

On the whole, New South Wales is to be congratulated on the wisdom of Captain Phillip's choice. The Governor was fairly satisfied with the selection. "I believe," said he to Lord Sydney, "it will be found hereafter that the seat of Government has not been improperly placed." His instructions plainly directed him to Botany Bay ; and, not approving of that part, it was necessary that he should settle upon a site as soon as possible ; as he afterwards observed, "I had little

time to look around me when I first arrived." He was subsequently struck with the better land at Rose Hill, or Parramatta, and spoke thus of it in June, 1790 :—"Had I seen the country near the head of the harbour, I might have been induced to have made the settlement there." Still, for commercial purposes, Sydney is by far the better site.

Certainly the neighbourhood was not attractive in an agricultural point of view. Sydney sandstone does not yield a promising soil. In fact, Captain King wrote home that the region "which surrounds our settlement is little better than a sandy desert." Others sent home semi-official reports of a most damaging character as to the hopeless sterility of the selection. The *Domain* was reserved by Governor Phillip for the use of his family. Pyrmont was so called by Captain MacArthur from a spring he found there.

The first tenements were rude enough. Besides tents, there were huts of wattle and dab. The Marines were in tents, as well as many of the convicts; though they, as Captain Hunter tells us, "to secure their owners from the coldness of the nights, are covered in with bushes, and thatched over." The cabbage palm helped in structures of a more substantial kind. In George Thompson's Journal we read :—"Those that are built of wood are whitewashed with pipe-clay." There was much complaint afterwards of the irregularity of the arrangements for settlement. Houses were pitched anywhere, and there was a strange jumble of homes about the celebrated *Rocks*, an odorous and ill-conditioned part of the town. There were, in 1793, 5 barracks and 160 huts; each hut, 26 feet by 14, served for 10 convicts. Every hut stood in a separate plot of ground, intended for cultivation.

Among the romances of the earliest days was the story of *Pinchgut* island in the harbour, in which, as it was said, some convicts were starved to death. The truth is that five men were confined there for three months, on bread and water, for the very serious crime of breaking in upon the

provision stores. The name has given place to Fort Denison, after the engineering Governor of the colony.

The *Tank* was then the only source of fresh water. Dr. Braim tells us :—"There then stood a thick, silent wood, through which the stream gurgled and trickled, breaking by its voice alone the solitude that pervaded that singular spot." Being exposed, it was liable to disturbance and defilement. A number of Government notices were directed to the preservation of its purity. Soldiers and others were officially prohibited from bathing therein, or washing clothes in it. Wandering animals furnished another cause of complaint respecting the stream. It was more serious when population increased, and supplies of water became deficient. An ordinance of October 14th, 1802, fixed a penalty of £5 or twelve months' imprisonment for throwing any filth into the *Tanks*.

Sydney had its first parish proclaimed on July 23rd, 1802, when it was ordered that "the districts of Sydney, Petersham, Bulanaming, Concord and Liberty Plains be comprised within a parish to be henceforth named 'St. Phillip,' in honour of the first Governor of the territory ; and the districts of Parramatta, Bank's Town, Prospect Hill, Toongabbee, Seven Hills, Castle Hill, Eastern Farms, Field of Mars, Northern Boundary, Ponds and Kissing Point be comprised within a parish to be henceforward named 'St. John's,' in honour of the late Governor Captain John Hunter." Good-natured Governor King was much more prompt in the work of beatification than the Holy See has ever been. It may take hundreds of years to procure the honour of Saintship in the Church of Rome ; but Sydney obtained two Protestant Saints, as protectors, within about a dozen years of its establishment, and without waiting for the decease of those it so delighted to honour. After the official announcement there could not be a mistake. The parishes and churches were not called after the two disciples, but the two Governors. Cumberland county, limited to lat.  $33^{\circ} 40'$  on the north, was proclaimed September 14th, 1804.

It is pleasant to read a paper of October 31st, 1807, saying, "The town of Sydney is much improved." It is further stated:—"When Governor Phillip quitted this colony, he left a memorandum, as may be seen in the plan of the town, that no part of Sydney shall be leased away, but the whole to be considered the property of Government. In June, 1801, Governor King issued a general order that leases might be granted for five years. After his departure, and I had begun to make my remarks as circumstances arose, I found several leases given and received in January, 1806, for 14 years, which were eligible and wanted for Government purposes. Lot 77 (not built on), notwithstanding it belonged to the church, which was too much confined, Mr. MacArthur got a lease of for 14 years, which if he holds he will deprive the inhabitants of a great convenience, as well as the public place of worship." Governor Bligh, therefore, tells the Secretary of State:—"Those persons holding the lots without any dwellings thereon, I have warned that whatever they erect will be at their own risk."

The insecurity of tenure, the undefined character of any holding, the total want of surveyed streets, and the general indifference of the official mind as to questions of sanitation, order, or ordinary comfort, occasioned that irregularity of buildings and that meanness and fragility of structure which distinguished primitive Sydney.

Public works there arose very slowly. In August, 1796, there was still no Court-House, and no granary. The Governor, on March 4th, 1791, wrote home:—"The want of limestone still obliges us to confine our buildings to a certain height; for, although the clay is of a strong binding nature, we cannot carry the walls of these buildings more than 12 feet above the ground, as the rains are at times very heavy."

Fort Phillip is thus noted by the Governor, in reference to Adjutant Minchin, acting engineer, on December 20th, 1804:—"I have the honour to enclose the officer's report, who acts as engineer and artillery officer, respecting the progress made

in constructing the citadel at this place, which will be a work of great security, and is now a very defensible post."

An interesting story might be told of the first theatrical performance in Australia. Permission was given for this display of the powers of some who had left their country for their country's good. It took place on June 4th, 1789. The comedy selected was 'The Recruiting Officer.' The first tragedy was 'The Fair Penitent.' The proceeds of the first pay night were for the benefit of the family of a soldier who was drowned, and realized £20. A rude playhouse was opened January 16th, 1796, when 'The Revenge' was performed. The prologue, which was cleverly written, containing the allusion of the actors' having "left their country for their country's good," was probably composed by the Judge-Advocate Collins, and not by the reputed Barrington. Sparrow was the manager, and Chapman, Fowkes, Green, Hughes, and Mrs. Davis were the performers. The public were charged one shilling for admittance, to be paid in kind; the check-takers receiving wheat, flour, or rum to the required amount.

An early masonic brother, Henry Brown Hayes, got into trouble. He, although in a condition of servitude, applied for permission to hold a Lodge in Sydney. His request was not only refused, but he was ordered to hard labour "at the settlement to be formed at Van Diemen's Land." The first Sydney artist was thus commended to the Governor's care by the Duke of Portland's despatch, February 6th, 1798:—"Mr. Lewin is a painter and drawer in natural history; and being desirous of pursuing his studies in a country which cannot fail to improve that branch of knowledge, you will allow him the usual grant of rations during his residence in the settlement." He may have been the first who artistically immortalized the sylvan beauties of the delightful harbour of Port Jackson.

## TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

In the infancy of the colony the Government was supreme in everything. The will of the Governor was law in a more absolute sense than even in Russia. He controlled the State, and administered the affairs of everyday life. While all depended on him, while all stores were under his management, and all supplies were obtained from Government establishments, such a thing as trade, in the ordinary sense, could not exist. As free people came into the country, a class was formed that became more and more independent of Government action. Adventurers brought goods to Sydney ; and, in spite of tyrannical or vexatious interference of authority, some kind of regular forms of commerce was initiated, and some usages of trade were practised.

The merchants were few, of course. For a time, at least, a stern monopoly existed ; coming as it did, between the Governor and the governed, collisions took place. Governors found their exclusive privileges slipping away from them under altered social conditions. The emergence of people from bondage diminished the active control of everything by the State, as the emancipated, no longer fed and clothed from the public stores, had to provide for themselves by other means. Men, in short, bought and sold, though by the primitive modes of barter.

They who, from their semi-official position, were able to seize the opportunities presented by commerce, held on to this new source of wealth with great tenacity. Being of the military caste, they were men better able, by strength of will and force of training, to present a bold front to the irresponsible rule of a Governor than the mere civil servants of the Crown. The very antagonism begotten by their interference with trade, hitherto controlled by the State, introduced a political element for the first time in the colony. The military traders formed the *Opposition* of the period, and in support

of personal, commercial interests, ventured from the limit of obstructiveness, and entered upon that of overt rebellion.

The early history of trade in New South Wales is, in fact, the real history of the colony. As, with the march of events in Old England, the struggle for supremacy was between the Sovereign and the aristocracy, so was it in New South Wales a trial of strength between the Governors and the military traders. Two of the colonial kings, who ventured to oppose the assumption of commercial rights, were removed through the pressure brought to bear by the colonial aristocracy. The latter, however, presuming to go further, and employ force in the colony against the representative of His Majesty, missed their mark, and lost their all. Their position was absolutely lost, their monopoly was destroyed, and the reign of freedom of trade was commenced, like that of political freedom in England, by an alliance of the Sovereign and the people against the aristocracy.

As the details of the struggle are mainly given in the story of the New South Wales Corps, little more need be stated under the present head. Even when private adventurers of capital came as merchants to Sydney, they found it to their interest, not less than being restrained by necessity, to enter upon an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the supreme military traders.

Trade followed in the wake of agriculture, the earliest of arts. The products of the land furnished the first means, by barter, for the purchase of needful commodities. The largest farmers of the period, the gentlemen officers, who had obtained grants of land and contributions of convict labour, were the principal sellers of wheat to the only purchaser of the day—the Government—that then supplied everybody with rations, or weekly allowance of provision. Their peculiar position not only brought them wealth thus directly, but enabled them to seize upon and occupy the lucrative post of general purveyors.

Governor Hunter, in his despatch of June 20th, 1797,

explains the process very conclusively :—“ The advantages,” said he, “ derived from their exertions in agriculture have enabled them to pursue a more extensive field in the way of trade, which has been as injurious to industry as their former endeavours were beneficial.”

No one doubted their services in cultivation. The feeble, desultory, and even miserable attempts at farming by the poorer settlers, emancipist or free, could not send food supplies enough into the public stores, and shipments of flour were continually required from England. The superior energy, intelligence and capital of the officers, when once the land-grants were open to them, promptly altered the food conditions of the colony, and removed the Government from much embarrassment. But when these gentlemen entered into trade, mischief followed. The gate of entry to the Commissariat sale-yard was, naturally, easier of access to the military friends of the Commissariat department than to the poorer farmers. When wheat was required the product of officers was the first accepted. This led to the virtual control of the market. It was, on the whole, better for the settler to sell his grain at once to the military traders than wait the uncertain chance of a time for disposal to Government.

It was only natural, therefore, that those who bought the wheat should pay in goods; as there was a control of rates of purchase, so was there of prices in sales of merchandise. The profit was twofold. The monopoly was as oppressive as it was strong. But the very rapacity of exaction brought this monopoly the sooner to an end. Captain Hunter alludes to this in 1798. Settlers sold on the spot at a low figure to those who controlled the market. He said that 1500 bushels being required by Government, only four persons sent in the quantity, “ to the entire exclusion of those who can less afford to pay freight in sending hither.”

By combination the fetters of trade were forged. There is a paper in the Record Office, unfortunately without date, though evidently referable to the latter part of the last

century, entitled, "Signed by some of the principal inhabitants, and the whole of the military officers."

These regulations following the arrival of a ship were agreed to by the subscribers :—

That "two officers be chosen and nominated from amongst ourselves, who shall, on the part of the whole, be authorized and empowered to treat with the captain, commander, or master thereof, for the purchase of such goods, wares, and merchandise, signifying to such captain, commander, or master by whom they are so employed ; and we severally and respectively bind ourselves to the performance of whatever agreement may be entered into by such officers so chosen and nominated as aforesaid in our names, and we further agree and engage that we will not directly by ourselves, or by any persons to be employed by us, attempt to make any purchase of such goods, wares, or merchandise contrary to the tenor of this agreement." Nor, moreover, it is added, "will we purchase individually or otherwise any goods, wares, or merchandise which they may have declined to buy, nor will we connive at, or suffer to be purchased for ourselves, our families, or on our account in any manner whatsoever."

This *Trades Union* had a better chance of being obeyed than any organization of the working classes ; for the gentlemen signed a declaration, "binding ourselves and each other in the penalty of £1000 sterling, to be forfeited, recovered and paid by these presents from whomsoever shall be proved to the satisfaction of the majority of the undersigned to have departed in any one instance from the tenor of this agreement."

Having thus secured the complete monopoly of the purchase of importations, and the control of the home produce market, they proceeded by equally high-handed methods to hold the sales to the public in their own hands. The poor settlers were at their mercy. They cried to their nominal protector, the Governor, for help in their trouble. Hence it is that we read in the early despatches of so many references to the

high charges of from 500 to 1000 per cent. above the rate of purchase. For this attempt to interfere with their *legitimate* profits, Messrs. Hunter, King, and Bligh incurred the displeasure of the ruling military powers, by whom they were successively overturned.

Under date January 13th, 1800, the following petition from Sydney inhabitants was forwarded to London:—

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed most respectfully beg leave to inform your Excellency that having heretofore laboured under the hardship of purchasing the necessary articles for the use of ourselves and families, as well as the cultivating our farms, and carrying on other useful avocations, at second hand, and we have an opportunity of purchasing the following articles out of the ship *Minerva*, and at the low prices annexed. We therefore most respectfully beg your Excellency’s permission to land the same, viz. 13 pipes of rum at 7s. per gallon; one ton of sugar at 1s. per lb.; 19 firkins of butter at 1s. per lb.; 10 casks of beef and pork at 1s. per lb.; 4 cases of glass; Irish linen at 1s. 3d. per yard; 72 dozen pairs of shoes at 10s. per pair; one cask of port wine at 7s. 6d. per gallon.”

Whether this was *bond fide* or not, the Governor was supposed to have the power to prevent any trade without his sanction, as a *permit* was required for the removal of goods from the ship. Instead, however, of apparently granting this modest request, he sent on the petition for the consideration of the Duke of Portland on the 1st of February after. It certainly would help to endorse the often-expressed views of the Governor as to the extortion of the merchant monopolists.

A memorial came also, from Parramatta people, setting forth the high prices. Sugar at 8d. was charged from 1s. 4d. to 3s.; tea at 10s. was sold at from 50s. to 150s. per lb. Hats bought in England for 2s. were 20s. in Sydney. They exclaim:—“ The settlers are obliged to pay from 500 to 1000 per cent. on the aforesaid articles; and if they are to continue

to groan under this load of oppression, agriculture may soon be at an end, the colony in want of grain, and consequently the expenses of Government increased."

The Hawkesbury petition of February 1st, 1800, has 150 signatures. The petitioners, as they say:—

"Pray your Excellency's attention to the high prices Government is obliged to give for wheat, being nearly double what it ought to be." And yet, say they, "the settler's profit is inadequate to his labour and expense, and is, in fact, insufficient to procure him the common comforts of life." The third section of the memorial states:—"Your petitioners complain that when the stores are open for the reception of wheat or pork, preference is given to the officers, to the great detriment, and sometimes total exclusion, of the settlers." The fourth relates to the waiting three months for payment. The fifth is:—"Your petitioners complain that they have not a due allowance of men to till the land, while officers and other favourites have men allowed them out of number." In the seventh they declare:—"That the Government ewes and sheep have not been distributed amongst settlers, but that the advantage arising from their milk, fleeces, and dung, is engrossed by a very few individuals. That, in consequence of this, the civil and military officers are become the sole graziers; and butchers are enabled by it to, and actually do, keep up the price of meat."

Then comes the crowning evil:—"That, when ships arrive, the officers, civil and military, are exclusively admitted on board; that they there forestall the whole of the cargo, and retail it to the colony at the most extortionate rate, as we are ready to prove if your Excellency requires it." Last of all they say:—"Your Excellency's mildness has been imposed upon, your authority twisted, your good intentions defeated, by a set of men who have enriched themselves by plundering the colony." Verily, the Commons have even then come to the rescue of the Sovereign against the aristocracy.

Some might fancy Government House knew beforehand

the nature of these memorials. It would not do in those old un-democratic days to let the people talk too freely. The Governor had, too, his own part to play, and could not venture publicly to recognize these radical complaints. He reminds them, in his reply, "That the settlers should recollect the trouble and pains the Governor took some years past to establish a general rate of wages; and this he did at the express wish of the settlers throughout the colony. But as soon as it suited their own convenience, or particular purpose, they broke through those salutary regulations." They failed to act with him for their own deliverance. As to the stock, he fails not to tell them that former gifts of animals were useless, as the people sold or devoured the stock they should have reared. As to men, he said, "When the settlers can afford to pay the Government £20 per annum for every man the Government may allow them, they will be supplied when Government have them to spare." But he carefully abstains from observations on the trading complaints.

Mr. Margarot had the boldness to oppose the trading combination, and suffered a deal of official persecution. He said, "A sieve to sift meal which cost them 5s. 9d. has been sold for three guineas, and rum I have known sold at £8 a gallon which cost 7s. 6d." Mr. Campbell, a merchant from Calcutta, was asked on a Commission, "Were you allowed to sell your merchandise at your own price?" He replied "No." Again, "In what manner were the prices fixed?" The answer was, "In 1798 the officers fixed the price of all articles of merchandise which I had then for sale."

The Governor ordered, January 15th, 1801, that "not more than one vendue master will be allowed in future to dispose of any wares." He was "to be elected by the vote of magistrates, and to be approved of by the Governor. He was to give sufficient security in the sum of £200 sterling for the honest and due performance of his duty to the seller and buyer."

But no State effort broke the *ring*. At last Governor King

absolutely forbade any civil or military officer engaging in trade. The order was approved of by the Duke of Portland as Secretary of State. And yet the old condition of things remained. The only way to fight the officers was to establish a place of business under Government control, for the good of the people.

Captain Hunter suggested this mode of relief on June 10th, 1797; saying, "Were Government to establish a public store for the retail sale of a variety of articles, such as clothing or materials for clothing, hardware, tools of every kind, sugar, soap, tea, tobacco, and, in short, every sort of article which labouring people require, and to indemnify the people for freight, insurance . . . the people would get what they wanted with ease, and at far less expense than in any other way. Payments might be made in such articles as the settler may raise, either grain or stock."

On May 25th, 1798, he wrote:—"Your Grace will be pleased to understand that there are at this time two distinct interests in this colony—that of the public, and that of the private individual—and it is natural to infer that these separate interests have certainly been in direct opposition to each other." The Duke approved of the scheme, and thus authorized the Governor, September, 1798:—

"Such of those (articles) as are not wanted for the convicts you will find you are instructed to dispose of to the inhabitants at the prices affixed to them in return for grain and live stock for the public stores." To meet expenses, he adds:—"It is but reasonable that you should on their arrival lay an addition of 10 or 15 per cent. on the original price."

By an *Order* June 26th, 1800, instructions were given to open such a store at stated times, by the Commissary officials, on Norfolk Island. The writer could not ascertain the date of the opening of the Sydney Government Stores; but on a certain day we have a *Public Notice*, signed by John Palmer, Commissary:—

"The following articles will be disposed of, being the owners' invoice of the *Britannia* (a whaler), from his Majesty's Stores on Fridays, to those who may obtain the Governor's permission on the preceding Thursday."

Prime cost, plus insurance, gave the rates. Thus, porter is put at £4 16s. 0d. per hogshead; rum, 6s. 2½d. per gallon; paper, 13s. 6d. per ream; white lead, 31s. per keg; black paint, 20s.; red paint, 33s. 3d.; cheese, £5 11s. 2d. per cwt.; vinegar, £3 1s. 4d. per hogshead; sweet oil, 12s. 7d. per gallon; blue cloth, 2 yards, £2 18s. 4d.; printed calicoes, 1s. 7d. to 2s. 3d. of four quarters, but 4s. 10d. of nine-eighths; printed muslins, 3s. 5d.; women's hose, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d., but stout cotton, 3s.; soap, 6½d.; tallow candles, 9¾d.; hats, 18s.; dimity, 2s. 3d.; check, 1s. 6d.; tobacco, 2s. 3d. per lb. Then come particulars of sale:—

"An advance on the prime cost to be allowed the proprietor of 50 per cent., and 11 per cent. insurance, making together 61 per cent. on the prime cost. Those who have the present means, either of lodging wheat, fresh pork, or money in payment for the same in the stores, will receive such proportion as may be directed, for the use of their families, at 61 per cent. on such articles as do not require unpacking, and 66 per cent. on such articles as require to be

- unpacked. But after those articles are received into the stores, the charge of 25 per cent. will be made in addition to the 61 per cent., making altogether 86 per cent. on the prime cost."

The last paragraph appears to have been applied to Norfolk Island only.

Another Commissary notice in June gives other prices: soap is £4 15s. 4d. per cwt.; Welsh ale, £8 2s. per hogshead; rum, 10s. 2d. per gallon; London needles, 5s. 4d. per thousand; pipes, 4s. 6d. per gross; sheeting, 2s. 2½d.; musquets, £4 18s. 8d., &c. "Fifty per cent.," it is stated, "is to be added to the above prices; 55 per cent. on the porter, a quantity having leaked out. Cheese to be purchased with the porter. The demands to be given to me (Palmer) before

Monday the 15th instant ; after which an advance of 25 per cent. will be charged, making 75 per cent. on articles that do not need unpacking," &c. Porter casks not returned would be charged one guinea.

A curious petition came up from the Hawkesbury settlers in consequence of this trading war between the Governor and the merchants. The latter began to press for pay men on account of former sales, and punished the settlers through whose complaints the change had been made. These were put into Court, and sold up remorselessly. They plead for a year's suspension of the Civil Court of Judicature, having nothing wherewith to pay debts, in consequence of the high price of goods furnished; and from repeated bad seasons. They are, however, thankful for the change ; though their creditors found fault with cash going to the Government store for supplies instead of payment being made for former transactions with themselves.

" We most humbly thank your Excellency," said the settlers, " for stopping their proceedings, and for supplying us on such reasonable terms with the comforts of life for which we used to pay so dear, and which have involved us in the misery we now labour under ; and our creditors are now using every means in their power to distress us, by obtaining executions on our effects, and from putting them up for public sale, where they are sold for ten times less the value they are to the settlers. On the other hand, if a settler or landowner is sent to gaol at this season his land must go uncropped."

In reply, June 23rd 1801, Captain King expressed his concern, yet was unable to arrest the course of justice. But, on July 8th he told the Ministry what he had done :—" I directed the Commissary to raise those articles into a store, and retail them to the inhabitants on the terms specified in the enclosures, in exchange for their overplus grain supplied to the public stores. By this regulation they obtain necessities on the most reasonable terms, instead of paying from

500 to a 1000 per cent. to favour retailing monopolists." He speaks in another place of "30 per cent. profit on the prime cost, to cover all charges of freight, risques, and loss by retail."

It was not without a struggle that the Government had been previously beaten. The ukase had gone forth in October, 1800, though the officers themselves had rendered it harmless. It ran thus:—

"No person is to go on board vessels arriving here until permission is signified by a Union Jack hoisted on board the vessels, excepting such persons as the Governor may authorize for that purpose. As soon after such arrival as possible, the inhabitants will be informed whether Government purchases or receives the whole or any part of such private investments as may be brought for sale. . . . In no case will private retailers be allowed to charge more than 20 per cent. on the purchase from the ship."

Competition came to close the door of the Government weekly sales. The Duke of Portland had written in January, 1802, about his consultation with London merchants as to trading charges at the so-called Botany Bay shop; and he told the Governor:—"The result of the investigation of this subject justifies me in directing you to impose an addition of 50 per cent. to the prime cost of the articles now sent." But Captain King had to say in return, October 30th:—"The great quantity of articles brought to the colony by private adventurers has greatly lessened the demand for those provided by Government.

The civil servants, upon regular salaries, were often treated like shuttlecocks in the contentions of traders, being compelled to suffer considerably from ruling prices. They had serious cause for complaint, as appears in the "Memorial of the Civil Officers of the Territory," forwarded January 5th, 1805, and signed by the Judge-Advocate, Chaplain, Doctor, Commissary, Provost-Marshall, and others. It was after this style:—"That your memorialists have from time to time

experienced great inconvenience in receiving their pay, and have been under the necessity of employing agents in London for that purpose."

Governor Bligh had much to say upon trading matters, though too much in a personal way, with a bitterness that savoured more of spleen than policy. Referring even by name to certain persons, October 3rd, 1807, he remarks that by them "several masters of ships have been ruined, the merchants at home defrauded to a serious amount, and the mercantile interest almost destroyed. With constant litigation and infamous prosecutions in the courts, they have been accustomed to be gratified." This does not apply merely to the prisoner class ; for he adds :—" Such as the —— who lately came out, become so speculative as to care for nothing but making money. They endeavour to monopolize, under a principle of buying as cheap as they can and selling dear." But this so-styled *Manchester School* idea, so condemned in 1807, is sufficiently popular in our own day, though rather more selfish than patriotic.

The first shop was opened by the captain of the *Justinian*, in 1790. Unfortunately, the speculation was a loss. He had mistaken the market. His millinery and fancy articles were scarcely fitted for a convict settlement in the third year of its existence.

A more important shopkeeping venture is noted by Governor Hunter, April 30th, 1796. Naming Captain Hogan, of the ship *Marquis Cornwallis*, he says :—" He mentioned to me that he liked the country and climate, and had some intentions of making proposals to Government to be permitted to establish a store here for the supplying with every article which may be wanted either for the settlement at large or individuals. I have long wished that such steps could be taken for this much-to-be-desired purpose ; it would be the means of suppressing effectually the shameful imposition which has so long distressed poor individuals, who pay for every little article they may have now and then an opportunity

of purchasing the most unjust and unreasonable prices. It would also be the means of introducing the manufactures of our own country in greater abundance into this settlement, and thereby lessen the speculations of foreigners and adventurers from the East Indies. A public store for the sale of various articles which are often wanted here, as well little luxuries as necessaries, would be felt by all ranks a very comfortable thing."

Licenses for business were issued. Butchers, by an Order of October 4th, 1804, were required to have a license under a penalty of £5 or one year's imprisonment. Selling by joint instead of weight subjected to £5 fine. Mr. Simeon Lord, the merchant, was the first auctioneer. No man could leave the colony without first having advertised so long a time such intention in the *Sydney Gazette*.

Public *Orders* were from time to time directed to the rectification of trade difficulties. That issued November 13th, 1800, said:—"To prevent litigious disputes, and consequent vexatious complaints, it is hereby ordered that no claim of property be admitted by the Civil Court of Judicature unless the parties enter into written agreements with each other or enter them in books, which will be kept for that purpose by the following persons; each agreement being entered in the most concise and clear manner, and witnessed by one person not a convict." The *Order* against private assignments was of great value. That of February 26th, 1802, was thus affirmed:—"To prevent such scandalous frauds every person will take notice that no assignment of property will henceforth be considered legal unless regularly drawn up at the Judge-Advocate's office and duly registered."

In the same way, as practical evils had arisen from the issue of irregular promissory notes, it was resolved that none be regarded as valid which was not upon the form issued by Government. One with the name of the Commissary is preserved in the London Record Office. It is about four

inches long by one and a-half broad. The words in italic are printed :—

*No. 2854.*

*Sydney, 28th July, 1802.*

Twelve months } *I promise to pay to Jas. Grant, or bearer,*  
 after date.      } *the sum of one hundred pounds,*  
*shillings,      pence, sterling.*

*No. 381.*

JNO. PALMER.

Paper money gave much occasion for fraudulent practices. The Governor on June 15th, 1806, had this caution :—“From the very incautious manner in which negotiable promissory notes of hand are sometimes made out, much perplexity to the drawer and loss to the holder have been occasioned. Several have lately been detected wherein the word *two* having been artfully converted into *five*.”

Captain Bligh gave this *Order* October 31st, 1807 :—“The barter of spirituous liquors is prohibited, by which means hired labour is become secured more equally to every man, and the *floating paper*, of an undefined value besides an unsafe medium, is now obliged to be drawn payable in sterling.”

The currency question altogether occasioned much trouble to early traders. Lieutenant Bond tells us in his record :—“This currency of New South Wales consists of bills given by the Governor for any kinds of produce brought into the stores, as for wheat, pork, etc. The officers have the liberty of issuing bills from 1s. to £100, and seldom pay any specie.” Credit was loose enough when it was necessary for the Governor to issue an order against credit to labouring men ; “as many of them,” said he (January 22nd, 1798), “are far less honest than they ought to be. They frequently contract debts to a much greater extent than the earnings of their labour can discharge. This *public notice* is therefore given for the prevention of impositions of this nature.”

Interest was fixed at 8 per cent. on July 14th, 1804.

The preamble was in this style:—"Ordinance! Whereas much litigation and many vexatious suits at law have occurred from want of an established and fixed rate of interest."

The specie was more in dollars than sovereigns for many years. English money was scarcer than foreign in the settlement. By an *Order* of November 19th, 1800, copper coin was not legal beyond £5; otherwise a fine of three times the value was inflicted. A copper ounce was in 1804 declared worth 2*d.*; an English shilling, 1*s.* 1*d.*; a Dutch guelder, 2*s.*; a rupee, 2*s.* 6*d.*; a Spanish dollar, 5*s.*; a ducat, 9*s.* 6*d.*; a pagoda, 9*s.* 8*d.*; a guinea, £1 2*s.*; a gold mohur, £1 17*s.* 6*d.*; a Johanna, £4.

A curious trial took place involving a specie question. One Mr. Crossley, a merchant, was cast in judgment by a dispute with Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth for £400. He tendered the amount in copper to the Provost-Marshall. That officer declined the mode of payment at first, but had to submit to the rule of £5 worth; consequently, the payment was made in eighty instalments. We read, under date November 8th, 1802:—"D'Arcy Wentworth maketh oath that on application to his Excellency the Governor this day stating that he was in possession of copper coin to the amount of £400, and requesting to know from his Excellency in what manner this deponent was to consolidate it for the interests of the merchants concerned, and whether his Excellency returned for answer that it is the circulating current coin of the territory, and he did not think himself justified in giving him a bill on His Majesty's Treasury for it." This affair gave no small amusement at the time to Sydney people.

The shipping story of primitive Australia had its points of interest. The want of vessels is a standing cause of complaint with early Governors. Yet, though provided with timber, no great effort was made in ship-building. In a dispatch of 1804, the following formed the infant colonial fleet:—

The schooner *Cumberland*, 26 tons, built between 1798 and 1801 ; the cutter *Integrity*, 59 tons, built in 1802 and 1803 ; the schooner *Resource*, 26 tons, built for the English ship *Porpoise* in 1803. In that year, too, the *Punt*, 12½ tons, was constructed. The tender, which came out from England, and which did good service in exploration, was the *Lady Nelson*, of 60 tons.

Boat-building began very soon. An *Order*, dated April 9th, 1791, says :—“No boat is to be built by any individual in this settlement whose length from stem to stem exceeds 14 feet, without having first obtained permission from headquarters.” That of August 31st, 1803, relates to discipline in a convict settlement :—“All boats found afloat or on shore at Cockle Bay or Farm Cove after sunset will be seized for the use of the Crown. All boats are to be moored within the Hospital wharf and hulks.” Boats were to be numbered and registered. For the prevention of escape from Sydney by any of the prisoners, it was announced April 8th, 1804, that “The settlers and landowners of all descriptions are ordered not to suffer their boats to be rowing about after dark, and to secure them by a chain and lock, taking the oars to their houses.”

There was a very natural fear on the part of the authorities that foreign vessels might become the opportunity of runaways. The Governor, therefore, November 28th, 1803, officially declared :—“It is to be clearly understood that foreigners, not being His Majesty’s subjects, leaving their ships, and residing here without the Governor’s permission, are subject to be put to public labour, until an opportunity offers for their leaving the colony, or sent away in the same manner as British subjects who leave their ships without the Governor’s permission.”

A particular fear was entertained about American ships. There was real cause, as convicts were sometimes carried off in them. The Americans were not at all very particular in those days as to the rights of others, especially Britishers, in

the colonies. The following proclamation of May 26th, 1804, shows the case as it stood then :—

“ Whereas it has been represented to me that the commanders of some American vessels have, without any permission or authority whatever, not only greatly inconvenienced His Majesty’s subjects, in resorting to and continuing among the different islands in and about Bass’s Straits for skins and oil, to the hindrance of the coasting trade of this territory and its dependencies, but have, also, in violation of the law of nations, and in contempt of the local regulations of this territory, proceeded to build vessels on the islands in the said straits, and in other places within the defined limits of this His Majesty’s territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, to the prejudice and infringement of His Majesty’s rights and properties therein ; and whereas I have some time past requested instructions how far the subjects of any European power in amity with His Majesty be allowed to procure skins and oil on the islands, coasts, and bays of this territory and its dependencies, as aforesaid. Until I receive those instructions, I do in the mean time hereby prohibit and forbid any foreigners whatever, as well as His Majesty’s subjects, building, or causing to be built, any boat or vessel whose length of keel exceeds 14 feet (unless by reason of a ship being wrecked) without my permission and authority for so doing previously obtained.”

Such authority is here illustrated in the *Order* of August 14th, 1804 :—“ I had given permission to Mr. Campbell and one or two private adventurers to build vessels exceeding the tonnage prescribed by His Majesty’s instructions, under the express stipulation that they were not to be navigated without the limits of this territory.” Governor Bligh, October 4th, 1806, says positively :—“ No vessel is to be built in the colony without his Excellency’s permission.”

Other regulations, as in July 12th, 1806, are worth a remark. Thus :—“ His Excellency strictly forbids any person, not a natural-born subject of His Majesty, being engaged to

reside or settle in this territory or its dependencies without a previous permission obtained from the Government." Further :—"Every British subject is forbid entering into any mercantile contract with the subjects of foreign powers, on pain of being sent from the colony." It is rather odd, however, to read the next notice, viz. "No intercourse whatever will be allowed between the colony and the Honourable East India Company's territories."

The FISHERIES formed the first means of local commerce. Flinders and others made known the stores of seal around the coast, and American whalers were attracted to the colonial oil regions. The Home Government fostered our fisheries there. Mr. Secretary Dundas, July 1st, 1794, directed that special encouragement be given to John Boston, about to proceed to Sydney for the curing of fish.

Whaling began in 1791. Captain Brereton referred to it in 1792. It appears that the operation was exchanged for that on the coast of Peru, though the ships that suited the quiet waters there were found unfit for the rougher seas off the south of New Holland. But Mr. Enderby was the true father of Australian whaling. A letter of his to the Secretary of State, dated October 13th, 1790, from Paul's Wharf, London, intimates his intention to go to the South Sea fishery, and his offer to take convicts to Sydney on the way. In a communication from J. Thomson of Sydney to Captain Schank, September 8th, 1799, we read :—"One of them belonging to Messrs. Enderbys is expected to sail for England next month, full of spermaceti oil. We hope this success will encourage those gentlemen to repeat their trials. I am afraid the seal-skin trade will not answer." The last prediction was soon falsified.

The Governor, in March, 1802, reported :—"Three ships have gone home loaded with spermaceti oil—six are now on the coast, and off the north end of New Zealand when last heard of." But heavy complaints are officially made, in October, 1804, of the encroachments of American and French

whalers. A hopeful story is told, November 1st, 1805, about "the number of men who are employed by individuals in the seal and oil fishery, which, as a productive article of export, has received my encouragement."

Sydney port was found at last unpleasantly popular with foreign fishermen. Denunciations were uttered, July 12th, 1806, against it being made a dépôt for their oil; thus, "preventing the benefit of the pressing exertions of the British adventurers." Consequently, no foreign vessel henceforth could "be cleared from this port for any sealing voyage."

An interview with John Prinsep, at Whitehall, refers to this industry:—"My object," said he, "would be to fish upon the coast, and to bring from thence the wood, wool, and other produce of the country." He is then asked, "In what manner, and upon what freight, did you propose bringing back wool from New South Wales?" He replies, "In the ships sent out from this country, either to fish or with merchandise, or upon contract with Government to carry out convicts; and I proposed to bring wool back upon a freight of £16 per ton in time of war, and £8 in time of peace."

The **TIMBER TRADE** gave good promise. The native wood was admired for ship-building, but not for furniture. The discovery of such an excellent wood as the pine of Norfolk Island was hailed with delight. Governor Phillip, February 11th, 1791, ordered, "The pine-trees shall on no account whatever be cut down, barked, or in any means damaged or destroyed, but by order of the commandant of the island." This was the initiation of forest conservation in Australia.

Other trees received the protection of Government. Men were warned against the waste of gum trees, they being reserved by the State for naval purposes. Captain King, May 7th, 1803, cautions "Any person cutting down, barking, damaging, or destroying any timber or trees likely to become fit for ship-building." They may take wood they can remove

with wheelbarrows or carts drawn by one horse. As additional protection, all timber-cutters for ships, by the regulation of Government, May 7th, "Are to pay a duty of £3 sterling to the treasurer of the Sydney Orphan Fund for every thousand solid feet taken on board." It was then that the Governor sent word home, "If I except the ship-timber with which this part of the territory abounds, we possess no known staple whatever; therefore any inducement that strangers may have in coming here proceeds from the hope of obtaining Government bills or the pay of the military."

Cedar early drew attention. Governor Hunter, September 8th, 1799, informed the Secretary of State:—"Captain Waterhouse has promised to take care for you a piece of cedar of the country, and also a piece of wood very common here, and which I am told is much admired in England." Stricter measures were then adopted for the conservation of this valuable timber than were taken later on in colonial history. The *Public Order* of April 12th, 1802, said:—"It having been represented to the Governor that some of the settlers at the Hawkesbury are making a traffic of the cedar growing on or about that river, he strictly forbids any cedar being cut down but by his particular permission."

Coals having been discovered early both on the Hunter River and on various parts of the coast, north and south of Sydney, the sanguine among the colonists indulged the idea of the exportation of that mineral. One of the finds is that chronicled by Governor Hunter, July 6th, 1797, in an account of a shipwrecked crew south of Sydney:—"One of the persons who arrived here having mentioned their having found a large quantity of coals the day before they were taken off, I have lately sent a boat to that part of the coast. The gentleman who went, Mr. Bass, surgeon of the *Reliance*, was fortunate in discovering the place, and has informed me that he found a strata of six feet deep, in the face of a steep cliff, which was traced for eight miles in length."

The record of the first shipment of coals from Newcastle

occurs in the despatch of September 8th, 1799. The Governor hopefully reported :—"A ship lately returned to Bengal laden with coals, and it gives no small satisfaction to every person interested in the prosperity of the colony to see this *first export* of it; and I am hopeful from these advantages, however contemptible it may at present appear in the history of our colonies, may yet become an acquisition of value to the mother-country." This sentiment was worthy of a ruler, like Hunter, ever loyal to the interests of New South Wales.

Coals were preserved as the absolute property of the Crown. The ordinance of July 3rd, 1801, is definite on the point, saying :—"The Governor, judging it necessary for the public interest to declare the coals and timber which are to be procured at Hunter River to be the exclusive property of the Crown, and having thought fit to establish a port at Freshwater Bay within that river, he strictly forbids any boat or vessel going there for coals, timber, or any other purpose, without first obtaining a specific licence from the Governor's secretary." Directions are then given for the use of "one kind of basket weighing one hundred weight to measure the coals in and out of the vessel." The licence to dig cost 5s. But 2s. 6d. a ton duty was charged on the coals; on timber for home consumption the duty was £1 per thousand feet, but £2 for exportation.

New regulations came by *Order*, March 24th, 1804. All King's dues were to be devoted to the support of the Sydney Orphan School. Those on coals were still to be 2s. 6d., whether for exportation or home use; but timber paid £4 if for exportation, and £3 otherwise. There was a *metage* of 2s. per ton. No vessel could go to Newcastle without recognizances of £50 and two sureties of £20 each. Parties must remove the coals when desired by the naval officer. No spirits could be landed without a permit, and none must be given to the convicts. To provide against the possibility of the removal of any prisoner, the owners of vessels were required, "previous to their clearance being given to enter

into a further recognizance themselves in £100, and two sureties of £25 each, to be recovered by the naval officer of the port." Again it is affirmed, "The coals and timber of all descriptions are to be considered the entire and exclusive property of the Crown."

When every man dug for himself, there soon appeared the usual consequences of this rude system of mining. Steps were taken by *Order*, May 2nd, 1804, to alter this state of things:—"The Governor being informed that the coal mines at Newcastle have been dug by individuals in the most shameful manner, without having props." Accidents called attention to the neglect. It was, therefore, ordered that persons from the vessels were not to work therein, but that "the prisoners will be employed at that labour under the direction of professional miners." Such men were to be paid for the Government at the rate of 3s. 6d. a day. The community were to be furnished then with coals at 10s. per ton, and paid for them in wheat or live stock.

Much was expected when the man of science arrived in the colony. Hence it was Captain King wrote, December 20th, 1804, "When Mr. Humphries comes here, it is probable the aid of that skilful mineralogist may produce some beneficial discoveries in minerals." We do not catch the echo of such discoveries by that gentleman. The mines were not remarkable in 1807, for Governor Bligh then remarked, "Hereafter we may expect great advantages from hides and tallow. From coals, also, something may be expected."

"MANUFACTURES are extremely trifling," was Governor Bligh's report in 1807. And yet one great object contemplated at the foundation of the colony was the employment of the prisoners in the manufacture of linen cloth. So much had been said of the native flax of New Zealand and Norfolk Island by Cook and others, that the work was commenced when the party took possession of the island in 1788. Hume, superintendent of the flax workings, sent specimens of the cloth to England. He apologized for the poorness of the

cloth from the want of oil for dressing it. Early in 1791 he forwarded flax seed to Sydney for sowing there.

The Governor, in 1800, reported to the Duke of Portland the suspension of operations from the deficiency of flax-seed and manufacturers. "Some good workmen," said he, "are among the Irish convicts lately brought here which will in some measure make up for the loss of the weaver who was drowned on the passage. Four men, *i. e.* two flax-dressers and two weavers, convicts for life, have been selected to conduct that manufacture; and, as I have made their emancipation the eventful reward of bringing that manufacture to perfection, I shall not trouble your Grace with any application for another weaver being sent out for the present." In August, 1803, it was written:—"The extensive room over the new jail at Parramatta is appointed for carrying on the whole of these manufactures." The next year Captain King was able to report most satisfactory progress, saying:—"Nine looms are now at work, by which 100 yards are made weekly: 2116 yards, amounting to £264 10s. have been bartered with settlers. To our linen manufacture that of sail-cloth has been added."

Hemp as well as flax occupied the thoughts of the colonial tradesmen. The Rev. S. Marsden, devotedly attached to the colony, and zealous to promote its interests, sent specimens of cloth to be reported on by the Lords of the Council on Trade. In the return letter of May 21st, 1806, we read:—"Their Lordships are of opinion that if the hemp and flax of New South Wales are really of a quality superior to those of Europe, as the Master-Attendant at Woolwich seems inclined to believe, and if stronger cables and stouter canvas than those now in use can be manufactured there, a trade in these articles will be highly important to the mother-country, and extremely advantageous to the colony." A more judicious report could hardly have been expected even from the Lords of the Council on Trade. They were quite safe in all they said. Modern Sydney, however, may smile now at the observations.

Woollen manufacture began as soon as wool was produced in the colony. In August, 1801, the official letter remarked :—“Every endeavour is making by individuals who own so great a proportion of the sheep in the colony to improve the hair into wool by means of three Spanish rams brought here in 1797.” And then the Governor adds :—“From the whole of the wool obtained last year from the Government flock, and that of individuals, 306 yards of blanketting has been made.” In that communication also, it is intimated that, “Every exertion is making to bring the flax manufactory to as great a degree of perfection as possible; 472 yards have been made within the last five months.”

Downing Street officials in 1802 were rather jealous of Sydney becoming a manufacturing place at the expense of English goods. Fears of colonial competition already haunted the Secretary of State. On August 29th he praised the improved wool sent for his inspection; which, said he, “can’t be too much encouraged with a view to the future exportation of the finest quality of that article for the market of this country, *rather* than for the employment of it in the manufactories of the colony, which should be *confined* to the coarser kind of cloth.” The barter system was adopted in the woollen factory. The Governor, in March, 1802, observed :—“The wool belonging to individuals’ sheep was received into the manufactory, and coarse blanketting made of it, the proprietors of the wool receiving one yard out of four.” He estimated the price of manufacturing at twenty shillings per yard. Deficiency of supply obstructed progress, as his Excellency goes on to say :—“When the wool gets of a finer grain, and more plentiful (as there is not now sufficient to give constant employment), the cloth may be made of a texture fit for common apparel.” It was satisfactory for him thus to report :—“From a small quantity of European flax-seed a sufficiency has been grown to make 279 yards of fine, and 367 of coarse, linen. On another occasion he gives the statement of five men and twelve women engaged in flax, but

reports of the woollen manufactory in these words :—“ Average number of able men five, invalids twelve, women spinning thirty, have been employed.” They had produced 676 yards of blanketting.

Pottery made an early commencement in Sydney. M. Peron, of the French discovery ships, has left an interesting notice of his visit, in 1802, to the works at the village of Brickfields. Specimens submitted to the Royal Society were much admired. Some of the Sydney clay was presented to Mr. Wedgewood of porcelain celebrity ; and that gentleman prepared from it a fine allegorical group, copied from the vignette of *Phillip's Voyage to Botany Bay*, representing Hope's descent at Sydney, encouraging Labour and Art.

Mechanism was not neglected. Governor Hunter was able to report, June 1st, 1797, the completion of one useful construction, saying :—

“ Our windmill, which has been finished, and is now at work, was the other day employed grinding some wheat for people who had some time past been obliged to pay almost one half their grain to have the other ground. Whilst the miller was absent, and left these very *people* for whom the mill was then at work in care of it, during his absence they were clever enough to steal away some of the sails from the vanes or fans, and we have not been able to discover the thief. The mill, for want of its sails, was consequently stopped.” But Captain King informed the home authorities on April 30th, 1805 :—“ By the *Investigator* I received materials for building a post-windmill from Norfolk Island ; and as the late master-carpenter of that island has come here with his family, the difficulties heretofore experienced from the want of mills will soon be done away.”

A soap manufactory was early thought of, and in an odd place,—Newgate. A hard-soap-maker was there confined for debt, and memorialized the Government for a passage to Sydney, where he could commence his trade. He stated his readiness to go with his wife, two sons, and two daughters.

He thus put forth his case to Lord Hobart, August 22nd, 1803:—

“Your petitioner has good reason to think they (his creditors) will consent that he shall be released from hence if your Lordship will permit your petitioner and his family to go out as free settlers in one of the ships which Government proposes shortly to send to New South Wales, where your petitioner presumes his trade would be an acquisition to the colony, as well as beneficial to himself, the colony producing all the native ingredients for making soap, as well as potash, similar to American potash.”

Another petitioner, on September 26th, 1803, who sought a free passage to Sydney, was an iron-founder, who thus spoke of his abilities—“and am capable of going through my business.” The Secretary of State has evidently been convinced that iron works would soon be established there, since in his despatch to the colony in August, 1802, he wrote:—“It would be desirable to have the iron, of which it is supposed a great abundance may be found in the settlement, manufactured into what is termed *bar-iron*.”

The Rev. T. Palmer mentions in a letter that two friends went out with him as free settlers, who were roughly treated by the mercantile aristocracy:—“Messrs. Ellis and Boston having firmly but in guarded language insisted on the rights of British subjects to carry on any trade not prohibited in one of His Majesty’s harbours. This irritated the whole governing despotic power of the settlement against them. They were refused a grant of land and servants, and never employed.” When Governor Hunter arrived, he relieved them from their disabilities. They set to work at the manufacture of salt, soap, &c., and made much money the latter part of last century.

The means of communication were essential for settlers of all kinds. Sydney and Parramatta had a regular passage by boats, under Government supervision. Privileges were granted to those who established ferries. Thus, an *Order* of March

25th, 1802, said, "Whereas Andrew Thompson, settler and constable, has been at great expense in constructing a floating bridge over the South creek at the Hawkesbury—and as the subscriptions for carrying on that work have been very inconsiderable,"—it was proclaimed that a toll should be fixed there for his benefit during the next 14 years. Foot-passengers must pay 4*d.*, or give 10*s.* for the year's passage. For horses, the charge was 2*s.* 6*d.* each, or 50*s.* by the year; for a cart, in addition, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 30*s.* the year.

Postal difficulties were considerable, especially as war raged during the whole of the first 20 years of the existence of Sydney. Governor King apologizes, March 10th, 1801, for the brevity of a letter, that had four pages of a small-sized paper; saying, "As I am told no longer letter, or different paper than this, can be sent overland in India." Otherwise, letters were written on large and wretched-looking foolscap, when sent by return-ships to England.

DUTIES were levied by Governor King, with the view of getting means for supporting his pet institution—the Orphan School. On November 9th, 1802, he communicates the fact to his London superior:—"I have directed a duty of 5 per cent. to be levied on all wares and merchandise brought from any port *eastward of the Cape*, as well as all other goods, not of British manufacture, which is to be appropriated to the Orphan Fund." It would never have done to tax British goods. That was to be effected when colonists had their own Government to support.

The *Port Fees* were levied for two objects,—aid to the Orphan Fund, and the completion of two jails. For entry, the charge was a guinea, though only half as much if the vessel were on Government service. Whalers with oil to sell paid 10*s.*, or 5*s.* if only coming in to get supplies. The fee for general permit to trade was 5*s.*; for right to cut wood, 5*s.*; for the getting of water on contiguous Orphan lands, 5*s.* A certificate of clearance cost 4*s.* The permit to land liquors was 6*d.*, with 1*s.* for each gallon of spirits;

6d. for wine, and 3d. for beer. Every box or package was charged 6d.

The Orphan School received all fines for false weights and measures. On December 28th, 1793, it was proclaimed :— “The following sums to be paid into the hands of the Rev. James Bain (by the master of the ship or other proprietor), for the use of the school, for all spirits or fermented liquors landed here for sale. In default of which all liquors will be stored.” This was the institution of Bonded Stores. The charges then were 3s. on each ten gallons of rum, and 2s. for wine. In that *Order* it was declared, “All masters of ships, or other importers, arriving here, to inform the Justices of what articles they have for sale, with the original costs, and what they can afford to sell their merchandise for. No article to be bought or sold till the price is fixed.”

Prices of goods and rates for labour were alike, for a time, regulated by Government, or sanction was obtained by settlers for changes made in wages or charges for farm produce. This is well illustrated in the proceedings of “The Settlers’ and Landholders’ Society” of Norfolk Island, declared to be “By the authority and permission of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.” The date of the meeting was October 22nd, 1793. The record is thus given :—

“The following proposals of the settlers’ meeting have been concurred in by the magistrates, and sanctioned by his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. 1st, That 2s. a day be allowed a labourer, but if they work only the hours of public work, 1s. 3d. 2nd, That any person giving more than the established price, by proclamation, for any article, or work done, shall on conviction be imprisoned for ten days, and fined £5; half to the King, and the other to the person convicting.” The third section orders 5s. fine for non-attendance at meetings of the Society. The fourth says, “That a labourer who can reap shall receive 3s. a day during harvest, in cash or goods.”

Among the prices settled by the first of Colonial Trades

Unions, though under Government sanction, are these:— Felling an acre of wood, 12s. 6d. ; felling and clearing for planting, £2 ; for thrashing a bushel, 6 lbs. of wheat. A good carpenter was to have 3s. 6d. ; an ordinary one, 2s. 9d. For making a coat, a tailor got 5s., and 2s. 6d. for a pair of trousers ; but the shoemaker had 7s. 6d. for a pair of shoes, with 2s. 3d. for soleing and heelng, leather being found. Salt pork rated at 4d. and 5d. per lb. ; roasting pig, 4d. ; salt beef, 3d. ; salt, 5d. ; wheat, 2d. ; flour, 3d. ; Indian corn, 1d. ; potatoes, 2d. to 1d. ; onions, 6d. to 8d. ; cauliflower, 2d. A fat goose was 5s. ; a laying hen, 2s. ; a breeding goat, £3 to £5 ; and eggs were 9d. per dozen. These regulations are signed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Phillip Gidley King, and the magistrate, William Balmain.

The first signs of Colonial Freedom are seen in connexion with the self-governing powers granted to settlers to fix prices. As many complaints were made by farmers about high wages, the Governor issued this *Order* from Sydney, January 14th, 1797 :—

“ It is, therefore, the Governor’s desire that the settlers in each district do appoint among themselves Quarterly Meetings, for the purpose of settling the rate of wages to labourers and others whom they have occasion to hire ; that an agreement for this purpose be drawn up in writing, to which each settler in the district is to subscribe his name ; that a penalty for any breach of this written agreement be fixed by the general opinion, and inserted in the writing.”

A letter written in 1790 by an officer, Captain Hill, gives some of the rates of the period. Port wine was 40s. a dozen ; sherry, 50s. Soap was 4s. per lb. ; sugar, 2s. ; flour, 1s. ; and there was no vinegar. He was not a philosopher, and wrote :—“ Here I am living in a miserable thatched hut, without a kitchen, without a garden, with an acrimonious blood by my having been nearly six months at sea ; and, though little better than a leper, obliged to live on a scanty pittance of salt provision, *without a vegetable.*” Can one

wonder at the growlings and dissentions of those early days?

Some settlers, after the first instalment of freedom, went a little too far, and brought down on them this Government ordinance, July 12th, 1798:—"It is with much astonishment and displeasure that the Governor has been informed of the very unwarrantable Association entered into by the settlers and other persons upon Norfolk Island, and which he understands they have in the most seditious manner termed the "Fraternal Society of Norfolk Island." No complaint or grievance whatever can be admitted as a sufficient reason for such a step, so pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the inhabitants of that island, nor can there be the shadow of an excuse for such an Association."

The settlers at the Field of Mars petitioned for relief against high prices, on February 19th, 1798. They complain of tobacco bought for, perhaps, 8d., "cannot at this moment be had for less than from 10s. to 15s. per lb., and still there is abundance in the colony." Sugar for from 7d. to 13d. is retailed at from 2s. to 5s. Soap is sold for 3s. 6d. ; tea, 40s. ; spirits, 15s. ; calico, 7d. per yard, &c. They call upon the Governor, "as the angel of our deliverance," to fix the prices. The chaplain, being asked to support their plea, was obliged to admit the justice of their complaints, though he charged these people with idleness and drunkenness.

The Hawkesbury settlers held a meeting, January 14th, 1800, and then agreed upon the following rates:—Clearing an acre of land, £1 ; breaking up, £1 6s. 8d. ; chipping in the wheat, £1 2s. 0d. ; reaping, £3 ; carrying, stacking, and thatching, £2 ; thrashing, £2 2s. 6d. ; carrying to store in Sydney, £1 19s. 7d. ; seed, 1½ bushel, 15s. ; making a total of expenditure per acre of wheat, £13 5s. 9d. The prices then, 1800, in Sydney, are thus given:—Tea, £4 ; sugar, 2s. 6d. ; spirits, 30s. to 80s. per gallon ; tobacco, 10s. ; soap, 6s. ; butter, 4s. ; cheese, 3s. ; duckcloth, 5s. per yard ; linen, 5s. ; calico, 4s. ; woollen cloth, 40s. The fourteen subscribers

say, "Flannel, blankets, and all sorts of bedding much wanted, and none for sale." Produce then fetched as follows:—Wheat, 10s. ; barley, 8s. ; maize, 5s. ; sheep-mutton, 2s. ; goat-mutton, 1s. 8d. ; fresh pork, 1s. 6d. ; potatoes, 16s. to 20s. per 100 lbs.

It was on September 28th of that year, 1800, that Captain King thus addressed the Duke of Portland:—"That, as the dealer often charges four or five hundred, and often 1000 per cent. on the prices paid to masters of ships; that the misery of the greater part of the settlers is the present consequence, and that the total ruin of the colony at large must be the eventual end if a stop is not soon put to the unwarrantable price of labour, and the hitherto existing monopoly and extortionate demands of usurious dealers and their dependent retailers." This high rate of labour was owing to the high price of spirits. "Of course," says the Governor, "the labourer charges that sum (for spirits) to the farming settler, who, not having any means of procuring spirits, or articles for payment, must give his wheat, the price of which is fixed at 10s. per bushel."

In May, 1803, ewes are quoted at £2 4s. 0d. ; wethers, £1 19s. 2d. ; Spanish ewes, £3 11s. 0d. ; cows, £46 15s. 0d. ; oxen, £36 ; horses, £70. A pamphlet published in 1800, gives the following prices the year before:—Calicoes, 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. ; muslins, 7s. to 12s. ; printed calicoes, 25s. per piece; silk handkerchiefs, 12s. ; boots, £2 to £3 ; tea, 16s. ; loaf-sugar, 2s. 6d. ; and moist, 1s. 6d. ; coffee, 2s. ; vinegar, 6s. ; soap, 2s. ; rum, 28s. ; cognac, 24s. ; Cape brandy, 18s. ; port, £3 ; porter, 36s. ; butter, 3s. ; cheese, 3s. ; flour, 7d. ; wheat, 12s. ; barley, 10s. ; bacon, 1s. 6d. ; salt beef, 8d. ; salt pork, 1s. ; kangaroo meat, 4d. ; fresh pork, 15d. ; fowls, 5s. ; geese, 21s. ; ducks, 5s. ; turkeys, 21s. ; sow, £5 ; goat, £4 4s. 0d. ; ewe, £7 7s. 0d. ; Cape sheep, £7 10s. 0d. ; horse, £90 ; cow, £80.

By proclamation, December 4th, 1806, the labourer was to accept of 15s. for breaking up an acre of ground, or be sent

to the stocks, and then three months to prison ; while the settler was fined £5 for paying higher wages. In March, 1807, wheaten bread was 10d. for a 2 lb. loaf ; tea, 6s. an ounce ; sugar, 4s. ; butter, 6s. ; fresh pork and beef, 2s. ; mutton, 1s. 11d. ; port wine, 10s. a bottle ; tobacco, 24s. per lb. ; coarse white calico, 5s. a yard ; and men's hats, three guineas. There was a weekly assize of bread by Government.

Captain MacArthur having offered to relieve Government of men by taking them for their bread-rate, Governor Hunter thus explains the generosity :—“The daily wages of a labouring man, without furnishing food, was at that time 5s. or something more, and the price of bread was about 2½d. per lb. Supposing a man to receive 2 lbs. a day, that would amount to 5d. ; for this mighty saving to Government of 5d. he would have gained 5s. in labour.”

The *Sydney Gazette*, Nov. 30th, 1806, has this story :—“A corn-jobber had last week the kindness to offer a bushel of maize to a neighbouring settler, because he knew him to be in want of it ; and for the very same reason, perhaps, *conscientiously restricted* his charge to £7 sterling for the single bushel !”

The Drink Question is singularly associated with the trading history of the early days. It was the first, and continued long to be the most important, article of commerce. The Government stores provided rations of food and clothing, so that these needed no purchase. When, however, convicts became free, these articles were procured from those stores in exchange for the produce of farms. But the payment of many kinds of labour, especially of an extra character, was not required in provision or clothing, and could only be made in spirits ; while for such an article of indulgence, so agreeable to the appetites of those who had enjoyed it in Britain, men or women were ready enough to do any service. They, therefore, who had spirits could get work done, and done on easier terms than others not so provided. Moreover, when settlers

sold their produce the barter was usually effected in alcohol. Rum was the currency of the period. The first newspaper had an advertisement offering a reward of ten guineas or two gallons of rum. It was rum that bought everything. Apart, then, from the peculiar character of the population, readily prompting to the drinking of spirits, the very exigencies of trade seemed to demand their use. It was not wonderful, therefore, that they occur as the primary object of commerce, as they became the fruitful source of vice and misery, not less than the occasion of political and civil strife.

The consequences of this branch of trade formed the subject of regret in many of the despatches of each Governor. When a lot of spirits came by a chance vessel from the Mauritius, the ruler wrote home :—"I cannot help regarding the encouraging a commerce with the inhabitants of the Isle of France but ill-calculated for the prosperity of this colony, as spirits will be the general object of this commerce." In spite of the misery occasioned by the want of food and clothing in the first few years—truly years of famine—there were comparatively few cases of crime beyond the thieving of provisions, owing to the limited supply of intoxicants. That time of quietness passed when the traffic gained strength.

Governor Hunter (November 12th, 1796,) after referring to "much vice and idleness" there, adds :—"All this, my Lord, has, in my opinion, proceeded from the impatience of those who, having very little real or active duty to do, have been too much engaged in a most destructive traffic with spirituous liquors." These are "sold again to the settler at an immense profit, to the destruction of all order, to the almost total destruction of every spark of religion, to the encouragement of gambling, the occasion of frequent robberies, and, concerned am I to add, to several very recent and shocking murders."

On July 6th, 1797, he writes :—"The last ships which arrived (as is too commonly the practice) have brought spirits enough to deluge again this colony, and throw it into such a

state of fermentation and disobedience as would undo all I have been attempting to bring about for the public good. My positive refusal to suffer the poisonous article to be landed has given much offence, although every officer has been permitted to receive what he wanted for his private accommodation."

But these officers wanted the rest for traffic. "This trade," said he in November, "although originated with those whose situations give them respectability and influence, it has descended to all the inferior, so that the duty of their respective offices seemed to have become but a secondary attention." Again :—"When we reflect on the various advantages which many of the military officers have had, advantages which I have not shown any desire or intention to wrest from them, we cannot help expressing the strongest astonishment that they should have even thought of condescending to enter into trade of any kind except that of disposing of to Government the produce of their agricultural labours." This met with the distinct recognition of the Ministry ; since the letter from Whitehall in reply said :—"It is certainly in your power, as well as it is your duty, to prohibit, by the most positive orders, all officers of Government, civil and military, from selling any spirituous liquors to the convicts or settlers."

But this was useless. Governor Hunter's most positive orders were of no effect ; the officers and their creatures continued the lucrative traffic.

Captain Hunter confided some of his cares to his Lieutenant-Governor, Captain King, in Norfolk Island. In a letter dated June 1st, 1797, he wrote, "The introduction of this destructive trade, which took place *since the departure* of Governor Phillip, has done immense mischief, and by the ruin of many of the oldest settlers has retarded the progress of industry amongst that class of people who were before sober and laboured hard ; but spirituous liquors, which have become a principal article of trade, have completed the ruin of many who might have been perfectly independent." He

speaks of the trade "which I must ever consider, in the manner of it carried on here, to be highly disgraceful to men who hold in their hands a commission signed by His Majesty. I have resolved to correct as far as I can many such abuses. I have not assistance sufficient. It is too much for any one man to manage in our extended state, and with our abandoned and profligate manners and conduct to see and direct every little department."

- Whitehall at this period seconded the efforts of the Government House in New South Wales. A despatch from London, April 10th, 1799, orders:—"No vessel is to be allowed to land any article or break bulk before the return of such vessel and her cargo is filled up. This measure will be of the greatest use in preventing the importation of spirits without your license first obtained for that purpose, and will afford you the opportunity of regulating both the entries and sales of such articles, as shall be allowed to be imported into the colony, in such a manner as to prevent all monopoly, and afford the inhabitants an opportunity of purchasing the same at a fair and reasonable price."

When Captain King was made Governor he resolved to try and stop officers from trading in spirits. He desired Colonel Paterson, head of the New South Wales Corps, to call a meeting of his officers, September 8th, 1800. Dr. Balmain, one of the officers, wrote a letter to the Governor, September 14th, presenting a practical difficulty:—

"It becomes my duty," said he, "to state to you that I have at this time a quantity of spirits in my house, amounting to 1400 gallons or upwards, a few chests of tea, and some bale goods, which I became possessed of previous to your arrival, and before His Majesty's pleasure on this head was made known to me, a single article of which I shall not attempt to dispose of without your permission and approbation, although my loss will be more than my circumstances can possibly sustain if every means of getting rid of them is utterly denied me. I therefore take the liberty of offering

them to you on account of Government." Mr. Wentworth wrote in similar terms. He had 3000 gallons; and would, like Mr. Balmain, sell at £1 a gallon. The Governor could not buy at that rate, but gave all officers liberty to sell out, though not above the £1. One had ten chests of tea to sell at 20s. a pound.

This ended for a short time the direct action of the officers in colonial trading.

Governor King was defeated in an attempt to prevent the landing of spirits [from an American ship in from Manilla in 1804. The story is thus told:—

"The pretence was that she was bringing cattle, of which *two* arrived, but a considerable object was 7203 gallons of spirits. I issued the enclosed proclamation, and directed the master to leave this port after landing his dry goods. In this resolution I was defeated by the master reporting to me that his ship was in too rotten a state to proceed to sea, which in fact proved to be the case on a survey being held. Under these circumstances, and the unpopularity of preventing the spirits from being illicitly appropriated and consumed, I allowed of its being disposed of and distributed in the usual manner."

Governor Bligh was involved in troubles all his reign through the drink traffic. He gave the British Ministry one illustration of effects in his despatch of February 7th, 1807, saying:—

"At harvest, or shortly after, those who have got spirits go, or send their agents, to purchase wheat, and frequently take from the thoughtless settler two or three bushels of wheat for a bottle of spirits (which cost the proprietor only half-a-crown). On this account principally it is that the farmers are involved in debt. A farmer has been known to give an acre of wheat for two gallons of spirits to satisfy his labourers, or for his own use, which would maintain him a whole year. These are but few of the evils attending this pernicious traffic. Nevertheless, the barter of spirits has its

advocates ; but only those plead in its favour who have imported a large quantity and gained immensely by it. I have considered this spirit business in all its bearings, and am come to a determination to prohibit the barter being carried on in any way whatever. It is absolutely necessary to be done to bring labour to a true value, and support the farming interest."

He declared on August 16th, 1807, "Nothing can be more conducive to sobriety than the present system of spirit dealing—a high *price* and a low *proof*." One who styled himself "A Grateful Settler," addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, November 3rd, 1807. Among other colonial evils he pointed out "the appointment of Robert Campbell, a speculator in this colony, to be the receiver of His Majesty's duties, which it is his interest to evade."

The importation of spirits was not the only trouble of the early rulers. Distillation of spirits began very soon. In the so-called narrative by Barrington it is said that in 1793 a man got a still from England, and so "obtained a deleterious and mischievous spirit from his wheat, which he found more profitable than carrying it to the public store and selling it for 10s. per bushel." One bushel made 5 quarts, which sold then at 6s. per bottle.

The Government order against distillation was proclaimed January 23rd, 1796. It was against "making and vending a spirit, the quality of which is of so poisonous a nature as must in a very short time ruin the good health of the settlement; so iniquitous and dangerous a practice being, not only in direct disobedience of His Majesty's commands, but destructive to the welfare and prosperity of the colony in general." In his despatch, March 3rd, 1796, Captain Hunter describes the *Still* business, observing :—

"Many of the settlers and others have fallen upon a method of erecting stills, and distilling a most noxious and unwholesome spirit, which not only serves to destroy the health of those who use it, but it also consumes a quantity of

grain which would otherwise come to market. It will cost me some time and much trouble to get the better of this dangerous practice, and no doubt a little popularity amongst that description of people. I have, however, issued public orders strictly prohibiting a practice so certainly ruinous to the health of the settlement, and have directed that the stills be seized wherever found, and the names of those whose possession they were in transmitted to me, that they may be marked as people undeserving confidence or encouragement. This order will, I think, be effectual, several stills having already been seized and broken."

But the *Order*, though repeated still more strongly February 28th, 1799, was not effectual. Governor King tried hard to stop distillation. On September 1st, 1805, he condemns the "stills for making a destructive spirit, the bad effects of which have been lately visible in some fatal dysenteries." He then calls upon all magistrates "to suppress the dangerous practice, and to use every means in their power to bring forward the guilty, and to seize and destroy the utensils they may have provided for a purpose so certainly calculated to ruin the present healthy state of the inhabitants, exclusive of other pernicious consequences equally affecting the property of the individual as subversive of public tranquillity."

The Governor had to meet another phase of the distillation difficulty in his despatch of December 3rd, 1805. "Several of the settlers," says he, "have upwards of 300 bushels of peaches growing on their farms, requesting permission to distil the juice into a spirit, it being ascertained that cyder made from it will not keep." He is obliged to add, "But the great evil will be the probability of corn being malted for the purpose of distillation by those who may be licensed to distil the peaches."

One of the last proclamations of Captain King's was directed against distillation. That of June 14th, 1806, notifies that "a quantity of maize, wheat, and other grain has been malted for the purpose of distillation." He then

proclaims:—"I do hereby strictly forbid any person or persons whatever using any grain for so destructive a purpose, and do hereby direct and require that every person convicted thereof before a bench of magistrates be fined in the penal sum of £400 sterling, and imprisoned for the term of six calendar months in the county gaol."

Licenses were introduced, as in England, mainly to limit the traffic, on the ground of public morality, and not as a means of revenue. It was on November 18th, 1791, that Governor Phillip wrote home:—"The landing of spirits without having a *permit* has been prohibited in the port orders, in order to prevent the convicts procuring any; but if some *duty* was laid on all spirits landed in the settlement it would more effectually answer the purpose. The duties would, of course, be applied for the benefit of the Crown." Licenses are mentioned in the Governor's letter of August 20th, 1796:—"I have taken every step in my power to prevent the smuggling of spirits from ships to the shore, but ineffectually, notwithstanding the having a guard on board. I have, however, to put a stop to the great inconvenience of having every little hut a *suttlings-house* for the retailing spirits, issued very strict orders against it; and, although the destruction of the house of the offender was a part of the punishment, and did actually take place in some instances, it did not effectually prevent it. I have now found it necessary to grant in each district a certain number of *licenses for retailing spirits*, under strict regulations, which appear to answer the purpose well, prevent much intoxication, and seems to give general satisfaction. To prevent the importation of spirits entirely, my Lord, is next to an impossibility." He then adds, "It will soon be found necessary to lay a duty upon its importation, a regulation which might serve to defray some part of the expense of the civil establishment of the colony."

At first, 10 licenses were issued by the three magistrates, for one year. Besides two sureties in £10 the party paid £20. On October 1st, 1800, we have this *Order*:—"No

person whatever is allowed to sell or retail any spirituous liquors ; and if any person shall presume to land spirits or wines from any vessel without the Governor's own permit in writing, such person so offending will be punished as the law directs for selling spirits without a license." But the licensing *Order* is dated October 27th, 1800 :—

" Licenses to sell and vend excisable liquors by retail will be granted to those recommended by the magistrates to the Governor, on the first day of November annually ; and whoever retains liquors in their houses for sale and retail without a license shall forfeit £10 for each offence." All liquors found on his premises would be forfeited. No gambling and no drunkenness could be sanctioned on the licensed premises. No trust was to be given by the publican. No sale could take place after *Taptoo* beating in the evening till the following morning, under £5 penalty and loss of license.

The *Order* of November 28th, 1800, did something to arrest smuggling, as it gave the property to the seizer of the liquors. That of April 9th, 1801, was in the interests of religion :— " Licensed people selling spirits or entertaining any description of persons in their houses, outhouses, or other premises, from daylight on Sunday morning until nine o'clock at night will not only forfeit their license, but will incur the penalty of £10." The day after, April 10th, it is ordered that in addition to the fine and loss of license, the offender should lose all his liquors.

The Hawkesbury settlement was early given to the indulgence of liquor. The Act of October 24th, 1801, directed the seizure of any boat on the Hawkesbury containing spirits not having a specific pass from Government. Governor King had absolutely to forbid the sale of any alcoholic drink in " that profligate district " of the Hawkesbury. In the official despatch of November 1st, 1805, we read as follows :— " It has occurred to me that the Excise Laws, as far as respects the fines and penalties for using private *stills* might be adopted here with good effect ; but, on consulting with the

Judge-Advocate on that subject, he thinks the introduction of those laws would be a stretch of power." It was something in such days of despotism for a Colonial Governor to yield to such scruples.

The difficulties of Government owing to spirits inclined the rulers to patronize the use and the brewing of beer in Sydney, hoping to change the drinking tastes of the inhabitants for a less fiery liquor. That their endeavours failed is too evident in the history of Australia, so long after devoted to spirits rather than to beer. The experiment was made from the best of motives. On July 8th, 1801, the Governor wrote:—"I hope as the whale fishery is now established, it will be the interest of the owners to send a quantity of porter, which they can do at a cheap rate; and as they are determined not to send any spirits, that resolution, and the measures I am pursuing, will soon rid the colony of that poisonous fire that has so long raged, unfortunately for the credit, health, and tranquillity of the inhabitants."

In 1803 the Secretary of State was asked for hops, as the colonial letter of September 17th assured him that "every exertion shall be made to brew beer, which will be of infinite advantage to the inhabitants."

The following year's despatches and orders have several references to beer. On March 1st we get news of brewing utensils being "fixed at Parramatta in a building appropriated for that purpose, with a kiln and every other requisite for malting barley and brewing under the same roof. One hundred and forty-two pounds of hops were bartered with a settler who had long brewed in small quantities. The remainder I save for the purpose of brewing for the use of those your Lordship points out, which has always been an event much desired by me." In September he notes there will be 2300 gallons at the Government brewery, "provided the supply of barley and hops continues."

What was to be done with the Government brewing? His Excellency wrote:—"The raising and supplying of barley

will greatly depend on the settlers, in exchange for which they are assured of beer. And it is hoped from the favourable appearance of the few hop plants, raised from seed brought in 1803, that the colony will possess this necessary ingredient for ensuring that wholesome, cheap, and nourishing drink." But a *Public Order*, November 9th, expressed fear of the supply, saying :—" His Excellency the Governor having been informed that some of the settlers in the district of Hawkesbury are reaping their barley before it is ripe, with a view of putting the same into the store, which will evidently defeat the intention of supplying the inhabitants with beer, as malt cannot be made from barley thus reaped." This may be called "grandmotherly legislation," but it was only what was to be expected from the benevolent despotism of the day.

A *General Order*, September 25th, 1804, gives the public information respecting the Government brewery at Parramatta. Licensed keepers of drinking-houses could there obtain at one time 32 gallons at 1*s.* 4*d.* a gallon wholesale, which they were to retail at not more than 6*d.* a quart. It was previously announced :—" The commissioned civil and military officers will be allowed to draw five gallons each weekly." Common folks were thus to be supplied from the State brewery :—

" Settlers, such proportion as the Governor judges proper, and as the quantity in the brewery may admit of. The above will be charged at one shilling each gallon. Payment for the beer is to be made in wheat, barley, hops, casks, or iron hoops delivered into His Majesty's stores, agreeable to the promissory notes that will be required on delivery of the beer."

Strong efforts were made to keep up barley supplies. Debtors to the Crown were requested to pay as much as possible in barley, "for keeping up a supply of barley for making beer." On December 20th, 1804, we learn that the brewhouse could turn out 6000 gallons a week if hops were not wanting. The Governor, therefore, tells the Secretary of State, "But should my request for more hops, and a quantity

of plants, have been complied with, a continuation of the greatest blessing that can be bestowed on a colony will be not only insured, but greatly, if not entirely, do away the inclination for spirits." In the same strain he declared, December 16th, that "the introduction of malt liquor into the colony is to be enumerated among its most beneficial establishments."

All this was in harmony with the principles regulating trade in those olden times. In spite of much that was out of harmony with a lofty and more enlightened spirit of morality, it is satisfactory to find that, as a rule, Government interference with trade from 1788 to 1808 was more patriotic than selfish, and rather intended for the good of the people than from the lower motive of raising a revenue.

## POPULATION.

Although no proper church register existed before that begun by the Rev. Mr. Cartwright at Windsor, in 1812, certain Government returns were drawn up from time to time, for the information of the British Ministry. From these records we extract the following figures, which are much wanting in particulars of births and deaths, to say nothing of marriages.

Interesting facts were given in December 16th, 1791. Besides 216 Marines and 31 wives, there were 6 men and 7 women of other free officials. There were 12 free women, wives of convicts. While in Sydney and Parramatta the free settlers were but 11, those on Norfolk Island amounted to 63, or 74 in all. The male convicts who had become settlers on farms were 73, being 34 in Port Jackson, and 39 on Norfolk Island. Those in bondage came to 2441 males, and 597 females, having 159 children. The whole number then dependent on Government for rations was 3739.

Another early statement is :—Free people, 47 men and 30

women ; emancipated settlers, 14 and 4 ; convicts, 2228 and 673 ; children under 2 years, 218 ; 2 to 10, 139 ; above 10, 7. Very few, if any children, accompanied parents in the first ships. Even the Marines were not allowed at first to have their wives with them.

In February, 1792, there were 3277 men, 691 women, and 224 children in the Port Jackson settlement. But in October, the figures stood, for Sydney district, 1256 ; Parramatta, 1845 ; and Norfolk Island, 1121. The children were said to be 284. At the end of 1794, there were 2234 in and near Sydney ; 1131, Parramatta ; 163, Hawkesbury ; and 951 Norfolk Island. This gave a population of 4479. Between January 1st, 1795, and September 1st, 1796, there were 152 births and 46 deaths.

Of 4958 in September, 1800, 3545 were victualled from the public stores, and 1413 supported themselves. But in August, the following particulars were forwarded home :— Civil and military, 476 men, 16 women, and 20 children ; settlers on lands, 388 men and 14 women ; convicts, 2171 men, 941 women, 914 children. Of 4942, 971 were women, and 936 children. For March, 1801, it was written :— “Out of 5515 inhabitants, 2736 support themselves at no expense to the public, and 2779 were necessarily supported by the Crown.”

In March, 1802, we read that “of 5975, only 3273 support themselves.” Yet, on October 30th of that year, it is said that, of 6657, 2059 men were on the stores ; while 2037 men, 302 women, and 874 children were off them.

In 1802, orders were given for the Chaplain to keep a registry of births. The deaths were then as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.
Sydney	62	13	25
Parramatta	37	5	2
Hawkesbury	6	2	3
	—	—	—
105	20		30

The births were 41 in Sydney district, 40 in Parramatta,

and 21 in Hawkesbury ; or 102 altogether. Up to 1800 there had been 9870 arrivals. Of these 7800 were males, and 2070 females. Of those who came free, 300 were male, and 70 female ; of those freed there, 2500 and 400. The convicts mustered 4000 males, and 800 females. Not less than 1800 had been born in the colony.

In July, 1803, of 8334, 7134 were in New South Wales proper, and 1200 on Norfolk Island. The August returns gave for Port Jackson settlements 3026 dependent for rations, and 4100 able to keep themselves. Of the former, 2203 were men, 426 women, and 397 children. But 2335 men, 953 women, and 820 children were off the stores.

The figures for July, 1804, are put at 5273 men, 1571 women, and 1810 children ; or 8654 for Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. But, on February 25th, the returns for the Mainland were 2260 victualled, and 4466 independent ; being 7035 souls. But the figures are wrong somewhere.

Two reports were furnished in 1805, and both relate to the settlements about Port Jackson. On June 30th, there were 3184 in Sydney district ; 1889, Parramatta ; 1886, Hawkesbury ; and 125 New Settlement ; or 7064. And yet, on August 5th, there is this estimate :—Civil and military, 641 ; settlers, 637 ; freedmen, 916 ; male convicts, 1561 ; female convicts, 516 ; free women, 854 ; children, 1747. This is said to bring a total of 6980 ; or, rather, 6872.

About this time the returns of New South Wales suffer a diminution, owing to the statistics for Van Diemen's Land, established in 1804, being separated from the rest.

On March 15th, 1806, the Commissary reported 6935 men, 1335 women, and 1680 children ; but gave 862 men, 154 women, and 327 children for Norfolk Island. We are told that on December 3rd, 1806, there were 7162 in New South Wales proper.

The Commissary stated on September 30th, 1807, that the population of the Main, or New South Wales proper, was 7562 ; and that of this number there were 999 free

settlers and landowners. While, at first, all except the officials and military consisted of bondsmen, nearly one-seventh are classed, in 1807, as free or emancipists. The process of emergences from the dark shadow had fairly set in at the termination of the First Twenty Years, and gave a happy presage of the time when New South Wales should stand forth with a prisoner population even less in proportion than in some of the old countries of Europe.

One cannot help remarking how slowly the population seemed to grow during these First Twenty Years, in spite of the large shipments of criminals from England and Ireland. The excessive mortality, especially in the first ten years, was one cause ; but the disproportion of women to men, above all, of child-bearing women, limited the increase of inhabitants.

#### THE ABORIGINES.

The settlement of Australia was formed without any consideration of the claims of the natives, or scarcely a recognition of their existence. They were too weak to present opposition, and too degraded to excite sympathy. The assumption of absolute jurisdiction over the new territory followed the occupation, just as if it had had no previous inhabitants.

Captain Tench notes the first contact with about forty blacks, when Governor Phillip went from Botany Bay to examine Port Jackson. The manliness of their bearing struck the officers, and originated the appellation of Manly Cove. They were then called *Indians*, and are described as being "naked as at the moment of their birth." They got some amusement from an inspection of the new-comers ; for, as Tench relates, "These people seemed at a loss to know (probably from our want of beards) of what sex we were, which having understood, they burst into the most immoderate fits of laughter." Captain Collins calls their boomerangs

"swords made of wood, small in the gripe, and apparently less formidable than a good stick." A pamphlet of 1789, by an officer of the expedition, remarks :—"Commodore Phillip usually laid his musket on the ground, and advancing before it, threw them out presents." The writer spoke of their "putting themselves into threatening positions, calling out often in harsh notes, '*Warraw! Warraw!*'"

The early writers are much taken up with stories concerning Bennelong, or Banalong, who was certainly not the best specimen of his nation, though very intelligent, and with capacity to adopt some portions of our civilization. He is about the only historical man of the woods who was an associate with Colonial Governors. He went to England with Captain Phillip in 1793, and was duly *fêted* as the lion of the period, a King of the Cannibal Isles, in all aristocratic quarters. He returned to his native shore with Governor Hunter in 1795.

A sincere desire was expressed by persons in authority to do something for the elevation of the natives, and the adoption of civilized habits by Bennelong created strong hopes that the whole race might be Christianized. The varnish of civilization received on that occasion is thus indicated in Hunter's account :—

"He sits at table with the Governor, whom he calls 'Beanga,' or father, and the Governor calls him 'Doorooow,' or son. He is under no restraint, nor is he the least awkward in eating ; indeed, considering the state of nature he has been brought up in, he may be called a polite man, as he performs every action of bowing, drinking healths, returning thanks, &c., with the most scrupulous attention. He is very fond of wine."

What further evidence do we require of his refinement ? He was even quite shocked on having a visit from his sister, who came with her little child to welcome him back to the gum trees, as she was only attired in her birthday suit. His wife was induced to leave an interim husband by the smart

appearance of her former lord. As she, however, preferred the woodland freedom to court life in Sydney, she soon rejoined her former sable lover. Bennelong did not approve of the desertion, and, sallying forth, broke the head of the favourite, as well as severely chastising his faithless spouse, Barangaroo. This lady had some cause of jealousy on her part, though every expression of spleen brought down the correcting hand of the stronger partner. Bennelong appeared to little advantage upon his return. He had contracted English vices in combination with his native barbarism, while losing the simple virtues of his kind. He speared a soldier, and wounded a number of men and women of the forest in his drunken freaks, but never taught his own race one useful art. His own end was a miserable one.

An attempt made to redeem a native girl was not much more fortunate. The wife of the Chaplain adopted her into the family, and trained her in European habits and faith. But, after eighteen months, the girl blushed into womanhood and sought a more natural protector, with whom she fled to the bush. As Barrington's assumed narrative says, "She was seen in the canoe naked. However, she put on her petticoat before she joined the clergyman and some others who went to visit her. She appeared much pleased with her liberty."

More promise appeared in a lad called James Bath, after the man who captured him when a little child during the first year of settlement. Docile and gentle, he submitted to better influences, without yielding to European infirmities. He died young, like all those the gods are said to love, being carried off by disease when only sixteen years old. It is recorded that he "gave proof of Christian purity, fervently repeating the Lord's Prayer shortly before his dissolution."

Their numbers were then considerable, judging by the notice of the tribes near Port Jackson. But shortly after the English landed, a fearful pestilence set in among them, and very many bodies were left unburied in the bush. The

disease—*Gal-gal-la*—is termed a sort of small-pox, though the affection was unknown among our own people there. According to their own account a similar desolation visited them the year before we came. Captain Phillip, on September 1st, 1788, wrote:—"I think that in Botany Bay, Broken Bay, and the intermediate coast, they cannot be less than 1500."

Conflicts began the first year. No record is given of the murder of the first native; but a white man was killed in the woods in May, 1788. This provoked reprisals. There was no attempt made to ascertain the real offender, but a wholesale slaughter was as usual the mode of revenge adopted by the Christian strangers. When the soldiers were sent out, the chastisement was very effective, but by no means provocative of peaceful results. One of the humane officers, Captain Paterson, reported:—"It gives me concern to have been forced to destroy any of these people, particularly as I have no doubt of their having been cruelly treated by some of the first settlers who were out there." Governor Phillip, in his letter to Lord Sydney, May 15th, 1788, intimates that some Frenchmen from La Perouse's ships fired on the natives, "in consequence of which," said he, "with the bad behaviour of some of the transport boats, and some convicts, the natives have lately avoided us."

Provocations were not wanting on either side. The convicts stole and ill-treated native children, seized upon the young women to subject them to their brutal passions, and wounded or slew complaining husbands and fathers. On the other hand, the weaker took advantage of a solitary wanderer, and cast a spear from behind a tree.

A stand-up fight took place in March, 1797, between the soldiery and a strong party of natives under the notorious Pemulwy. Five of the dark men perished, and the leader received seven shots. A Public Order in 1803 urged men to be well armed when travelling in the bush. Another official notice, July 20th, 1805, says:—"From the necessity

of coercive measures being taken, six of the natives, and those of the most guilty, were shot in the pursuit by the settlers."

This is not the place to give details of this *Black War*, but a few illustrations of the times may be mentioned.

In 1799, two convict settlers on the Hawkesbury laid hold of three native lads, secured their arms, and then deliberately set about stabbing them. Two were killed, but the third escaped, and swam across the stream with the aid of his feet only. The inhuman wretches were tried for the offence of killing those who were, as the Governor declared, under British law and protection. The court having doubts upon the question, the whole case was referred to the Ministry at home. Meanwhile the natives, who had been assured justice would be done, saw the offenders again at work in their fields. O'Hara writes:—"They threatened in consequence of it to burn the harvests of the settlers."

It is but right to say that the *theory* of the subjection of natives to British rule was maintained by Government from the first. This naturally involved equal rights of protection from injury. On January 30th, 1802, the Governor received this command from Downing Street:—"On future occasions, any instance of injustice or wanton cruelty towards the natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the law."

Governor Hunter, in a despatch, quotes the original instructions of His Majesty for the Governor of New South Wales:—"You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them; and if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that we do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence."

But in a letter of October 30th, 1802, it is stated that the blacks had in one place "plundered many of the settlers, wantonly murdered four white men, and cruelly used some

of the convict women at different times. The natives about Sydney and Hawkesbury continued as domesticated as ever."

The *Gazette* for 1804 relates an effort made on peace principles :—"Two of the Richmond Hill chiefs were sent for, the day after the firing, by the Rev. Mr. Marsden and Mr. Arndell, residentiary magistrates, who received them in a most friendly manner, and requested that they would exert themselves in putting a period to the mischief, at the same time loading them with gifts of food and raiment for themselves and their friendly countrymen." We subsequently read :—"We are happy to state that the natives in and about Hawkesbury have relinquished their mischievous behaviour, and that a good understanding is happily restored between them and the settlers."

The editor of the period has, in June, 1804, the following curious observations upon our aborigines :—

"As sportive nature would seem to have designed the southern hemisphere for the display of phenomena in the animal creation, so also does the polity of these barbarous inhabitants oppose itself to every principle of rational Government, and to the propagation of the human species. That the natural strength of a country must consist first in its population is a maxim that requires no embellishment, as it admits not opposition ; but here it is discernible that unless the propagation of the species be limited by destructive and abominable customs, their natural indolence must in process of time have reduced them to the horrible necessity of existing as cannibals, as nature is wholly unassisted, and the increase of the herb and the animal alike neglected."

Instances of spearing in the bush sometimes arose from fear on the part of natives that the person sought to capture them. In this way the Governor, Phillip, met with his wound, his shoulder being pierced. He had stretched out his hand toward a man, when he, suspecting a seizure, picked up his spear and suddenly threw it. When an attempt was made to capture a small vessel at Port Jervis, involving the

death of one man, the *Gazette* observed, "We have heretofore repeatedly had occasion to caution our coasting craft against the treachery and wanton inhumanity of the natives of that particular part." A man had a spear in his back for three weeks before it could be extracted, but soon got well after. It was satisfactory, however, to learn from Mr. Commissioner Bigge, that "Since the year 1806, the native black inhabitants of New South Wales have ceased to give any active disturbance to the pursuits of the settlers."

In a letter, dated July 8th, 1805, from Judge-Advocate Atkins to Governor King, the legal question is again discussed. "The object of this letter is," says he, "to impress the idea that the natives of this country (generally speaking) are at present incapable of being brought before a Criminal Court, either as criminals or as evidence, that it would be a mockery of judicial proceedings, and a solecism in law, and that the only mode at present, when they deserve it, is to pursue and inflict such punishment as they may merit." This, being interpreted, means, "Shoot the fellows when you have the opportunity."

The "Jump up Whitefellow" idea is thus alluded to by the *Gazette* of 1805:—"One of them advanced nearer to civilization than the generality of his brethren, interrogated as to his notions as to what was to happen after death, replied, with some embarrassment, that he did not know positively, but perhaps he might become a white man."

#### CONVICT LIFE.

The first Australian settlement was avowedly founded for the reception of British convicted prisoners. It being regarded as a novel experiment to have a colony constituted of criminals and their gaolers, philanthropists and statesmen in Europe watched that experiment with no small interest. If successful, English legislators saw a means of relief under

the burden of an ever-increasing amount of crime, and a growing cost in its repression.

They who thought of the poor exiles, on personal or moral grounds, were naturally alarmed at the prospect of sufferings which could never be made known at home, of evils arising from constant association with the vicious, and of the want of those means of grace without which no progress could be morally expected. Such fears were far from groundless. Still, facts would warrant us in affirming that the chances of improvement every way proved ultimately to be greater for the unhappy men and women in New Holland than if they had remained in England.

The theory of transportation cannot be discussed here. It is sufficient to say that thereby Australia got its first inhabitants, and capitalists their cheap labour. By it a great and prosperous colony has been established, while the original sources of its being are now only matters of history, as the prisoner character of its primitive population has been long completely effaced. It is forgotten by those who have sought to cast a stigma upon Australasia for its association with Botany Bay, that the great Republic of America was at one time largely indebted to British convicts for its labourers and settlers. The colonies across the Atlantic received the transports of Great Britain. James I. sent such there. Charles gave men convicted of crimes within benefit of clergy a conditional pardon, on condition of their serving for five years on the *plantations*, as they were called. After five years, lands were given to them in America. This was the precedent for granting farms to the prisoners in New South Wales.

Cromwell got rid of in that way a number of his Worcester Royalist captives. Charles II. despatched many Quakers. James II. forwarded a large number of Monmouth's ill-fated followers to Virginia. But the first Act of Parliament authorizing the transportation of thieves and vagabonds to America was passed in 1718. The preamble

of this law of George I. sets forth that the "*labour of criminals in the colonies would benefit the nation.*" Free settlers in America were as eager for convict servants as the free in Australia were to be relieved of them. Shippers received the transported for the privilege of disposing of them at £20 each. In this way there was less loss of life than afterwards on the voyage to Botany Bay. Friends of prisoners might arrange for the purchase of their freedom there. Many of the leading families in the United States could trace their origin to such visitors; lending some truth to the rude saying that "the Adam and Eve of Americans emigrated from Newgate."

By the terms of peace between Britain and its revolted colonies, after the war, no convicts could be sent henceforth to any part of the North American continent, as they might steal down into the States from Canada. The gaols at home thus rapidly filled, and statesmen were puzzled as to the best mode of relief. One suggested that the criminals should be thrown ashore on the Guinea coast. Mr. Eden proposed giving them to the Mahometan pirates of Algiers and Tunis, in exchange for more honest Christian captives.

Sir Joseph Banks spoke of the fair shores of Botany Bay, whose flora had so entranced him when with Captain Cook in 1770. Viscount Sydney, after whom the new settlement was to be named, is regarded as the official author of the scheme for the occupation of New Holland. The *Order in Council* for its adoption was issued in December, 1786. The settlement was formed on the shores of Port Jackson, and avowedly for the purpose of disposing of the criminals of Great Britain and Ireland. Grand ideas were indulged in by a few philanthropists as to the reformation of the exiled ones. The circumstances of the times, no less than the character of those to whom the guardianship of the poor creatures was entrusted, prevented the adoption of suitable means for the real benefit of the people. They were utilized rather as beasts of burden than treated as responsible beings.

The employment of the convicts was the subject of much anxiety to the early Governors. Public works enjoyed the first attention, not less than the cultivation of the ground. Female prisoners did little or nothing, and the male ones wrought no more than they could help; while not a few, from incapacity, ill-health, and want of sufficient food, were positively unable to do much, if anything. Free settlers, either those who had served their time of bondage, or had arrived free in the colony, took off many from Government hands. Regulations from time to time were made for the amount of labour and payment for it.

The want of suitable superintendents of labour was a frequent subject of complaint in early despatches. Governor Phillip, in 1788, asked for such officers as "would, when they saw the convicts diligent, say a few words of encouragement to them; and that when they saw them idle, or met them straggling in the woods, would threaten them with punishment." His own officers, civil and military, gave him no help in his scheme of convict reformation. "They declared," wrote he, "against what they called an interference with convicts, and I found myself obliged to give up the little plan I had formed on the *passage* for the government of these people." In fact, there scarcely appears to have been the semblance of system in the early management of prisoner labour.

There was very little skilled labour in the community, judging from the expressed desire for the despatch of free mechanics. Some exceptions appear. Thus, a convict carpenter, on the eve of going out there, sent a memorial to the Secretary of State, in 1797, begging that a collection of tools, brought to the hulks by his friends, might be allowed to be sent with him.

The oft-repeated home complaints of convict expenditure obliged the Governors to make frequent defence of charges. The people, it was said, did so little work, and yet they must be fed. It was because of London murmurings that colonial

rulers were so anxious to get men off the public stores by engagement in private service. The Ministry were decidedly in favour of this course. A Whitehall despatch of August, 1796, observed :—"The more convicts that can be made over to individuals, and taken off the stores, the greater will be the advantage."

Captain Collins' estimate of their working powers is thus expressed :—"More labour could have been performed by 100 free people from any part of England or Scotland than had at any time been derived from 300 of these." The proverbial "Government stroke" was never a heavy one. Those engaged on public works were under stern discipline, had few indulgences, and only common rations. But those in private employment might get better treatment, and have more opportunities of improving their condition ; this gave an incentive, under a good master, to work diligently. Mechanics were always in request. Men tried to keep the authorities in ignorance of their handicraft, hoping to sell their skill to greater advantage elsewhere ; so that severe laws were passed for the punishment of those who concealed their artizan powers.

Gunner Thompson, whose pamphlet journal of 23 pages was printed in 1794, gives no flattering story of the labourers, saying :—"Their hours for work are from five in the morning till eleven. They then leave off till two in the afternoon, and work from that time to sunset." But Governor Phillip, March 29th, 1792, wrote :—"The hours of labour for those who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground are only from five to nine in the morning, and from four to half-past five in the afternoon." But he admits they had not strength to do more, and sadly says they "are complaining of hunger when called forth to labour." Another account is :—"The hours of work are from sunrise till half-past seven, when they breakfast. At half-past eight they resume work till half-past eleven, when they are rung for dinner. At two they recommence their labour, and the setting sun is the

signal that terminates their daily toil, and which is announced by drum-beating and retreat." The Saturday was their own. Governor Hunter, in 1798, and Governor King, in 1804, ordered that the hours of toil be ten each day. One time the gangs were busy from sunrise to eight, and from nine till three.

Task-work was tried afterwards. They who did the required amount were free the rest of the day to work on their own account. They who did not were handed over to the magistrates for 25 or 50 lashes. Captain Hunter was not satisfied with the task result, as the work was badly done in the hurry. He wrote home in July, 1798, saying:—"The labour performed is not near equal to the expense of maintaining the labourers. It is, therefore, ordered that the working people do return to the original working hours, as regulated in October, 1795; viz. from daylight until eight, for work; from eight until nine, rest; from nine till half-past eleven, work; from that time until one, rest; from thence until sunset, work." The *Taptoo* beats at nine at night for all to go to bed.

Captain Phillip, on July 23rd, 1790, sent a list of those he had on Government work. There were 179 engaged on the Rose Hill farm, 316 in town, while no less than 413 were under medical treatment. Of the 316, there were 38 on the officers' lands, 40 getting stores from ships, 40 making bricks, and 50 carrying them, 12 road-making, 18 timber-cutting, 10 watchmen, 19 bricklayers, 8 carpenters, 10 boatmen, 9 smiths, 4 stonemasons, 2 sawyers, 3 wheelwrights, 3 gardeners, 3 coopers, 6 shoemakers, 5 bakers, 4 tailors, 3 barbers, 6 in the stores, and 6 nurses at the hospital.

The Governor, in March, 1800, lamented the little help he got for building purposes:—"Notwithstanding the number of people brought from Ireland by the last two ships," said he, "we have received no great accumulation of strength. Many of the prisoners have been either bred up in genteel life or professions, unaccustomed to hard labour. These are

a dead weight on the public stores." At the same time he adds :—" Those who do work complain of the insufficiency of their food." In March, 1801, there was a similar tale :—" The convicts generally sent to this colony are of such depraved and bad habits as to be incapable of labour further than they are compelled."

One class seemed exempt from labour; namely, those provided with cash by their friends. Some of these were even allowed other convicts to wait upon them. Political offenders, if gentlemen, were not sent to labour. Governors sometimes ventured in letters to the Colonial Office to express pity for such persons, while abhorring their crimes. They could not, they said, send an ex-sheriff of an Irish county and a rebel clergyman or priest to the hoe and timber-carriage. As the wives and families of respectable convicts were permitted to join them in the colony, the lot of such persons excited no little jealousy among others.

Assignment of prisoners to private individuals commenced first in the case of the civil and military officers. The number lent out altered according to the state of the labour market, and the whim of the Ministry. Officers and gentlemen usually made better masters than those who had themselves emerged from bondage. The assignment system continued in force in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land till the crusade against it by Archbishop Whately and others at home forced the Government to abandon it. In some cases it had the aspect of slavery, and was bad enough for the poor fellows. In others, again, it was truly a form of freedom. A decent worker under a proper master was well treated, acquired practical acquaintance with a variety of employments, became a handy man, and, in many instances, rose to competency, if not affluence. They who hired men without sufficient means to employ them often allowed their servants to seek work on their own account, to the serious increase of disorder.

Captain Hunter made a raid upon some, as he tells the

Secretary of State, June 10th, 1797, with a view to gather hands for public work. He speaks of recalling men "from many settlers who have been allowed to retain them too long and to little purpose, by many who have been sheltered from public knowledge, and employed by private individuals. We have got together a gang of about 250 men, who are now on labour of various kinds, and by whose assistance we make some progress in forwarding what has been so long wanted. The recall of such a number to public labour, and the consequent loss of their labour to private persons, your Grace will readily suppose may have occasioned some fermentation." As they who chiefly complained were gentlemen of the New South Wales Corps, it may be as readily supposed that the raid soon ceased, and the Governor's plans were again defeated.

Major Grose, when acting Governor, was a good friend to the speculative officers. Writing home, April 29th, 1794, he said:—"When the gentlemen (officers) were first indulged with grants, I gave them ten servants each, less than that number not being equal to the cultivation of the ground allotted to them." At first provisions and clothing were given from the stores, but employers afterwards were required to pay for these articles. No cash passed as payment. The officers got the best of the men, and grew rich accordingly. Captain MacArthur, however, made a bold statement to the Duke of Portland, September 15th, 1796:—

"Governor Hunter," wrote he, "in reply to my offer of maintaining 100 men with bread, free of expense to the Crown, declined accepting it, assigning as a reason that there were no labourers to spare. By an examination of the Commissary's returns, it will be found that more than 3000 persons are victualled at the stores of Government. From the Governor's reports it will be seen that *not an acre* of public ground is cultivated, it is equally certain that no buildings of any consequence are constructing. It is, therefore, evident that almost all the labouring men of the colony are either not

employed at all, or that they are engaged in the service of private people. I can prove that many who are fed at the expense of His Majesty are permitted to dispose of their time as they think proper themselves, that others are allotted for the service of convict prostitute women, and that the labour of half the people is directed to purposes which can never be of the smallest utility."

When an attempt was made to imprison servants for debts to their masters, an *Order* came out, October 4th, 1798:—“The Government will by no means dispense with the labour of its servants for the partial accommodation of any private dealings.”

A curious application came from the Indian Government, in March, 1800, for prisoner labour. The Council of the East India Company wished to employ these persons. Governor Hunter informed the Ministry that he had declined acceding to the request. At the same time he had no objection to sending a few on trial to India. *John Company*, as the East India Company was called, even then entertained the idea that New South Wales would become an admirable recruiting-ground. The belief of the time was that convicts were required in India for soldiers rather than farm-servants.

By the ordinance of October 1st, 1800, officers were informed that though those on duty might have convict servants, such persons were not to be used for personal profit. This arose from some natural complaints against the officers. Next day, however, appeared the *Order* requesting all officers to send in a list of their assigned servants. Fresh regulations were then issued. Masters were to maintain and clothe the prisoners whose labour was assigned to them. They must give them rations and clothing equal in quality and quantity to those issued from the Government stores, and provide them with a sheltered lodging on the farm. Any person having convict servants without leave of the magistrate of the district would be punished.

By command from Whitehall, June, 1801, each magistrate

was allowed the hire of five servants. On June 11th a *Public Order* was issued :—“ The convicts being the servants of the Crown during their time of transportation, their labour is to be invariably appropriated to the public benefit, and reducing the heavy expenses of the colony.” This principle being acknowledged, the Governor was allowed what number he wished ; the commanding officer to have six ; each other officer two ; and magistrates two. There being much complaint of convict-assigned servants, male and female, bribing their employers to let them do independent work, by which much scandal was occasioned, an *Order* of June 1st, 1801, affixed the penalty of half-a-crown a day for the absence of a prisoner from his authorized seat of employment.

Cases of cruel usage obliged the Governor, February 6th, 1802, to proclaim :—“ If any person should beat or use their servants ill, they will be taken from them to Government labour, and the offender dealt with according to their situations in the colony.” To stop persons working for themselves when in a condition of servitude, the command of April 17th, 1802, condemned such offenders to 100 lashes and 12 months in gaol. As masters continued, for profit sake, to sanction this irregularity, and not turn in to Government service those they ceased to keep on their premises, the Governor, July 5th, 1803, sentenced the convicted to a fine of £5 besides half-a-crown a day during the period of the assigned person’s absence. This not producing the needful attention, the penalty was increased on February 6th, 1804, to twenty pounds.

Governor King, by *Order* of January 15th, 1804, required masters to come under contract to take servants for twelve months, and, for the first time, pay wages at the rate of £10 a year for men, or £7 if providing clothing. Female servants were to receive £7, or £5 10s. if clothes were found. But all labourers were to work for ten hours a day on five days, and six upon Saturday. This ordinance was the first charter of freedom to the prisoner class, and was duly appreciated.

They were entrusted with cash at their own disposal, and were not liable to be *turned in*, at the will of a master, unless in the case of misconduct. It is true, instances of injustice continued to be practised by men in power. Magistrates would oblige one another, as employers, in authorizing the removal of obnoxious servants; or, by inflicting lashes for supposed disobedience of orders, an elastic charge, by which the poor fellow lost the benefit of his fixity of tenure.

Much disorder arose in the early times from the want of night accommodation for the convicts, who had to do extra work after Government hours to earn the means for a lodging. Prowling, drinking, debauchery and robbery ensued. When the Prisoners' Barracks were erected in Hyde Park for the reception of men at night, the better behaved complained bitterly of being thus compelled to herd with the worst of criminals, and of being robbed by them of their blankets and clothes.

On the whole, however, the condition of those in actual servitude was much better at the termination of the First Twenty Years than at the commencement.

The sufferings of the early prisoners were considerable, and their lot was often most miserable. Details of their sorrows on the voyage out, and of their sad want of food and clothing, are elsewhere given. The Government charterers of the *Lady Juliana*, in 1789, were paid at the rate of 9s. 6d. per ton for the vessel, 6d. a day for the convict's food on the way, and 2½d. for that of a child. On that vessel 226 unhappy women were kept for fifteen months.

The mortality on the way was wonderfully reduced when the contractors received a bonus of £5 for each convict landed in health. The doctor, in 1799, was authorized to have a gratuity of half a guinea for every soldier and prisoner brought in health to the colony; thus, Dr. Sharpe applied for sums on account of the landing of 31 soldiers, 26 settlers, and 287 convicts. The outcry against the ill-usage on the voyages was at one time so great that a despatch from

Whitehall, May 15th, 1792, declared :—“ It is proposed for the future to transport both the convicts, and such articles for the settlement as shall be sent from hence, by ships in the service of the East India Company, and I trust, by this means, the evils which have hitherto subsisted will be put an end to.”

That there was foundation enough for the horror expressed at the treatment is sufficiently shown by the official report of Mr. White, colonial surgeon, upon the state of the arrivals by the *Surprise*, *Scarborough*, and *Neptune*. Although apparently going over other ground, a few extracts from his letter must be given :—

“ A great number of them lying, some half and others nearly quite naked, without either bed or bedding, unable to turn or help themselves. The smell was so offensive that I could scarcely bear it. Some of these unhappy people died after the ships came into the harbour, before they could be taken on shore. Part of these had been thrown into the harbour, and their dead bodies cast upon the shore, and were seen lying naked upon the rocks. The misery I saw amongst them is inexpressible.”

The good doctor declared on another occasion, “ The distress among the troops, their wives and children, as well as among the convicts, for want of necessaries to aid the operation of medicines, has been very great.” He most piteously implores the Home Government to send him more medicines, as well as sago, sugar, oatmeal, and rice for the sick. Gunner Thompson referred to the neglect. He found some “ without the comfort of either beds or blankets.” “ They have,” said he, “ neither bowl, plate, spoons or knife, but what they make of the green wood of this country ; only one small iron pot being allowed to dress their poor allowance of meat, rice, &c.”

The state of things must have been bad when Governor Hunter could write to the Under-Secretary of State on November 1st, 1798 :—“ Recollect that the whole colony are

actually naked, that no clothing worth mentioning has been received here for more than two years. Not a blanket to wrap themselves in during the night." Governor Phillip declared in March, 1792, that the clothing "is so very slight that most of these people are naked a few weeks after they have been clothed." He lamented, "how much this colony must have been thrown back, and still suffers, from having been such a length of time at a reduced ration."

The first Governor, in his despatches, indicates a terrible negligence on the part of the Home Government. Thus:—"No kind of necessaries for the sick after landing were sent out. Most of the tools were as bad as ever were sent out for barter on the coast of Guinea. Of thirty pipes of wine ordered for the hospital, only fifteen were purchased. Not a wooden bowl that would hold a quart. The clothes of the convicts are in general bad, and there is no possibility of mending them for *want of thread*. It is the same with the shoes, which do not last a month."

It was a happy day when the attention of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry was directed to the condition of the transported, especially the miserable women. The improvement seen in the female arrivals by the vessel that was over-looked by Mrs. Fry's committee, is thus noted by the colonial chaplain, Mr. Marsden:—"All of whom looked clean, healthy and well. They had not that low, vicious, degraded, dirty look which the women at previous periods have had when they first arrived. I believe there has been great attention paid by the matron and surgeon to their morals and comfort in every possible way." The female convicts were, in truth, the chief sufferers in those dreadful old times. Women, when fallen, are always a pitiable spectacle; but those of the prisoner order, in that day, might well excite the sympathy of the most hardened gaolers.

Females, upon arrival, were allowed to land in their own clothing, if provided with such by their friends. All were supposed to be furnished with a change from the ship dress.

Lieutenant Bond, of the Marines, has left a dark record of their treatment in the early days. It is to be hoped that it is a much exaggerated account, though other authorities may be cited for details of a somewhat similar character. He is describing the day of arrival at the port of Sydney :—

“The commissioned officers then came on board,” said he, “and as they stand upon deck select such females as are most agreeable in their persons ; who generally, upon such occasions, endeavour to set themselves off to the best advantage. In this state some have been known to live for years, and to have borne children. The non-commissioned officers, then, are permitted to select for themselves ; the privates next ; and, lastly, those convicts, who, having been in the country a considerable time, and having realized some property, are enabled to procure the Governor’s permission to take to themselves a female convict. The remainder, who are not thus chosen, are brought on shore, and have small huts assigned them ; but, through the want of some regular employment, are generally concerned in every artifice and villainy which is committed. Females of this description are usually employed in selling such cargoes of ships as are purchased by the officers.”

Captain Bertram wrote in 1806 :—“The captain and each officer enjoy the right of selection. Thus they continue the habit of concubinage until the convicts arrive at Sydney town. Each sailor or soldier is permitted to attach himself to one of the females. The permission and the caresses of the artful wanton have often lured the temporary parties to marry—such a marriage manumits the convict.”

The authorities were sorely puzzled to know what to do with them. Captain Tench remarks :—“The female convicts have hitherto lived in a state of total idleness, excepting a few who are kept at work in making pegs for tiles, and picking up shells for burning into lime.” A few were occupied in the flax-working, spinning, &c. Governor Hunter intimated on November 18th, 1796 :—“I must express my

hope that the three hundred (*expected arrivals*) are all men, and not part men and part women, for of the latter we have already enough. We have scarcely any way of employing them, and they are generally found worse characters than the men." In January, 1800, is a similar version :—"The continual complaints which are made of the conduct of the female convicts require the most rigid and determined discipline with such characters who, to the disgrace of their sex, are far worse than the men, and are generally found at the bottom of every infamous transaction that is committed in the colony." Governor King followed suit in March, 1802, saying :—"As most of these were of the worst description, and totally irreclaimable, being generally the refuse of London, very few of them are useful, except those employed spinning, who are mostly from the country."

Women were subject to the same penalties as the men, and were regularly tied up to receive their due proportion of lashes. The *Gazette* of October 18th, 1806, describes one Margaret Camel, an accessory to a robbery, being "sentenced to be publicly whipped at the cart's-tail."

The relative proportion of male and female prisoners appears from official returns of population. In 1789 there were in the colony 1178 of the first, 345 of the last. There arrived during 1791, not less than 2121 men, and 286 women ; in 1792, 314 and 54 ; in 1793, 1 ; in 1794, 35 and 59 ; in 1795, 1 and 131 ; in 1796, 206 ; in 1797, 313 and 67 ; in 1798, 395 men ; in 1799, 53 women ; in 1800, 503 and 90 ; in 1801, 203 and 94 ; in 1802, 543 and 130 ; in 1803, 494 and 136 ; in 1805, 1 and 118 ; in 1806, 272 and 34 ; in 1807, 189 men and 113 women.

The *Second Fleet* alone, H.M.S. *Gorgon* and ten transports, brought in September, 1791, as many as 1695 men and 168 women. Only 78 females came with 930 males in the dreaded *Surprise*, *Scarborough*, and *Neptune*, of 1790. The total number of transports to New South Wales, from 1787 to 1820, consisted of 22,217 men, and 3661 women ; or

25,878 in all. Not a few of these were mere boys and girls from 13 to 15 years of age.

While the majority were felons of the common stamp, a large number could not be said to have deserved so severe a punishment, owing to the then existing Draconian legislation. Some, however, have special claims upon our sympathy, being political offenders. Men were then transported for publishing so-called seditious books and pamphlets, while now a far worse literature subjects the writers to no magisterial visitation. Political martyrs there were in Sydney. Though some of the Irish ones had been concerned in actual rebellion, the rest had merely addressed meetings or disseminated tracts. Scotch, Irish, and English were represented among these victims of indiscreet or heroic speech.

General Holt, who had been goaded into rebellion, and nominated a General in the army of the rebels, was so well esteemed at home and in the colony, that he experienced few inconveniences or disabilities in his exile. A Protestant farmer and gentleman, he had been driven to disloyalty solely by the cruelty he witnessed wrought upon his neighbours. His wife and children were permitted to go with him to Sydney. His interesting colonial memoirs were printed in Dublin, in 1826.

The so-called *Scotch Martyrs* excited much sympathy. They were transported in 1794, and received much kindness from Governor Hunter. In sending out Messrs. Palmer, Margerot, Gerald, and Skirving, accused of sedition, the Secretary of State charged the acting Governor Grose, February 14th, 1794 :—" You will, of course, keep a watchful eye over their conduct ; " and, from the fear of their having improper publications, he suggested it might be " necessary, with this view, that their effects should be carefully examined previously to their landing at Port Jackson." They repeatedly applied for permission to return. But Whitehall orders, April 30th, 1796, declared that, after the consultation with the judges, it was not deemed prudent to allow these Ulster

Scots to go to Ireland again, even at the end of their term of exile.

Gerald died in the first year from consumption; and Skirving, of dysentery, shortly after. Palmer, a much esteemed north of Ireland clergyman, who had written a supposed seditious handbill, died on his way home. Margerot got back to Scotland in 1813. He was the only one of the party who professed to be republican in principle. On Gerald's farm, Sydney Botanic Gardens now stand.

Muir's story is most romantic. He was of Glasgow origin, and took a great interest in politics. Advocating a reform in Parliament, his writings brought him into trouble in that day of despotism. A packed jury, half of Government officials, easily convicted him. The late Chief Justice Cockburn says the jury were nominated by the Judge Lord Jeffrey, of *Edinburgh Review* renown, who was present at the trial of Mr. Advocate Muir, and never referred to it without horror. Muir's treatment in prison was vindictive and cruel. Mr. Charles Fox pleaded his cause in Parliament, but without effect. Finding upon arrival at Sydney that they were still considered convicts, though allowed to live in their own houses with their families, the martyr party protested against the restriction. The appeal, in the Record Office, is dated October 15th, 1795, and is in Mr. Muir's handwriting:—"We deem," said they to the Governor, "the assertion and the vindication of our personal and absolute freedom to be our bounden duty." Again:—"Our freedom has been proclaimed by the officers of the Crown, who instituted and conducted the prosecutions." Captain Hunter, sending on this memorial on the 25th inst., wrote:—"I am obliged to confess, my Lord, that I cannot feel myself justified in forcibly detaining them in this country against their consent."

American citizens were much moved for the fate of Mr. Muir, and a vessel was sent to Sydney for the purpose of rescuing so distinguished an advocate of liberty. Meanwhile this gentleman employed his time alleviating the miseries of

the convicts, and striving by earnest effort to lead them to God.

The *Otter* arrived from Boston, on pretence of trade. As soon, however, as Mr. Muir was got on board, she sailed away on February 11th, 1796. The escape was reported home in a despatch of April 30th. Proceeding towards America, trading by the way, the ship was wrecked on the coast of California, and the people had to walk along the shore for thousands of miles to Panama, whence a passage was got for Vera Cruz. A Spanish man-of-war going home received Muir as a sailor. On the way, when near Spain, an English frigate captured the vessel. Among the wounded lay poor Muir. As men took him up to throw him overboard, supposing him dead, an English officer espied a Bible in the clasped hand. Upon opening it he saw the name of a dear old friend and schoolfellow. Carefully tended, Mr. Muir was removed to the hospital on shore. The French Directory heard of him, and warmly invited him to Paris. Received at a public banquet, he attempted to speak, but fainted from weakness. Soon after dying of his wounds, the French Government ordered a state funeral for this martyr of freedom. Agreeably to his dying request, the beloved Bible was sent on to his parents, who soon after died of grief at his loss.

Prison discipline, especially under the two first humane Governors, was by no means very severe at Sydney. Certainly floggings were rather freely administered by the magistrates, but heavy crimes were rare, considering the character of the population, and Government seemed ever slow to inflict the penalty of death. Governor King even found an excuse for granting a conditional pardon, saying in his *Order*, October 25th, 1802:—"From the length of time that has elapsed since any public executions have been rendered necessary, and the hopes the Governor had formed that the necessity of such dreadful examples would greatly decrease, and on which he trusts not to be deceived by the example afforded to the

colony at large of the miserable feelings of the felon now under sentence of death."

One of the earliest forms of punishment is thus noticed by an officer, who published a pamphlet in 1789 :—"A rock, at some distance from the shore, is fixed upon as a sort of prison, whither offenders are sent, and being exposed to the weather, with no other food than bread, sometimes produces reformation and amendment." In after years a similar plan was adopted, under much less favourable circumstances, at the Macquarie Harbour settlement of Van Diemen's Land.

Some characters were desperate enough, though the Irish gave the authorities most trouble. "With such description of persons as we have lately received from Ireland," wrote the ruler to the Duke of Portland, February, 1800, "I trust your Grace will be of opinion that our magazine of powder cannot be too well secured." In May, 1803, the letter said :—"Among these are many of the United Irish, whose minds are constantly occupied in exciting confusion by their stubborn seditious principles."

A Botany Bay *dozen* consisted of 25 lashes. The first gold-finder of Australia had a double flogging. Having shown some gold which he had discovered, Dailey demanded the freedom of a female friend and himself as a reward. Going with two soldiers to show the site of the gold mine, he managed to make his escape in the forest; being caught, he received several Botany Bay dozens. Essaying again to show the place, he tried once more to effect his escape. He then confessed that his *find* was manufactured out of two broken gold rings and a yellow metal buckle. A second flogging was then administered for his ingenuity. After that, gold finding had rest for over half a century in New South Wales.

The burning of the Sydney and Parramatta gaols was an easy work. The account of the latter is given in despatch, December 28th, 1799. This "strong and substantial log-building of 100 feet long was most wilfully and maliciously

set fire to by some unknown person, and was entirely consumed. There were at the time eight prisoners confined in it, who were with much difficulty saved from the suddenness of the conflagration ; several of them were shockingly scorched, one of whom is since dead."

The laws of the period were in the form of *Public Orders* and proclamations. That one of February 11th, 1791, refers to a very common crime :—" Although repeated orders have been given to prevent the convicts from selling or exchanging their provisions issued from the public stores for money spent on tobacco, that practice is still continued, and as those who sell their own provisions must support themselves by stealing from others"—it was proclaimed that "no provisions are to be purchased or received from a convict on any consideration whatever."

An *Order* of November 9th, 1791, refers to clothes :—" No clothing will in future be supplied to any convict, whether male or female, that shall be convicted of theft." Again :—" Any convict who shall purchase any wearing apparel or any necessary belonging to soldiers, will be punished with the utmost severity." Two others of these primitive enactments may be cited :—" If any convict is found straggling or lurking about any of the cultivated grounds, or out of their houses, after *Taptoo* beats, they will be fired upon by the patrol." Also :—" If any man or woman has the — disease and does not immediately make it known to the surgeon, such person shall upon first discovery be put upon short allowance of provisions for six months, and receive corporeal punishment."

Runaways gave considerable trouble. In that day they were said to *take to the woods*. As some check to those absolutely in bondage, as well as to the emancipated, or those who had served their time, the institution of the *muster* was established. At a certain day and hour, at a fixed place, all were expected to *muster*, and give an account of themselves. At first, different districts had different times for muster ;

this obvious advantage to slippery characters was removed by making the show take place the same day everywhere. Neglect of attendance is thus noted, June 20th, 1801 :—

“ Any person not appearing at the General Musters will be taken up as vagrants, and punished to the utmost rigour of the law, if free ; and if a prisoner, will be sentenced to one month’s confinement in the Battery Gang.”

Many runaways perished miserably in the bush from hunger, or the spear of the natives. Wilson, the early explorer of the country near the Blue Mountains, said he saw above 50 skeletons of what he believed had been runaways. Forty, who got on board a French ship, were set on shore at a distance, and must have all died there. Five who seized a boat at Parramatta were believed to have reached Otaheite. An Irish attorney with a dozen others laid hold of a vessel. The *Venus* and *Harrington* were seized in 1799. But out of 255 who bolted between 1803 and 1820, 194 were recaptured. Bolters became bushrangers. Men who took to the woods preyed upon settlers for the means of living, as well as to procure the cash to bribe captains for a passage.

Bushranging never assumed in New South Wales the dimensions it did in Van Diemen’s Land. The earliest official recognition of the system may be that in the letter of the Governor, March 3rd, 1796 :—“ We have now, my Lord, a gang or two of banditti, who have armed themselves, and infest the country all round, committing robberies upon defenceless people, and frequently joining the natives for that purpose. But, as I have lately issued an *order*, in which a reward has been held out for the detection of those villains, as well as the discovery of another set of plagues, who having been allowed a small quantity of ammunition for their own defence, there is reason to suspect they are in league with and supply these predators. I have no doubt we shall soon be in possession of some of them.”

In the following March he received this reply from his masters :—“ I cannot too forcibly impress upon you the

necessity of your immediately employing the most vigorous means for suppressing these gangs." It would never do to let the colony degenerate into a Spain or a Calabria. "Some of these villains," reported Captain Hunter, in 1798, "who are and have been a pest to the industrious ever since their arrival in the colony, have again absconded from their works, and have betaken themselves to an idle and mischievous life amongst the natives." He described them coming to a house, "their faces blackened to prevent discovery, and after beating a man, they set fire to his house, and to the whole produce of his last year's labour."

Two illustrations of the race are given in the *Sydney Gazette* of August 24th, 1806. One fellow, closely driven, reported himself to a constable as one absent without leave. After giving him a good dinner, the constable proceeded to take him before a magistrate, when, says the writer, "the sturdy miscreant snatched his recent benefactor up in his arms, and rushing down the declivity, precipitated him into the river." The other event is thus chronicled :—"Murphy the bushranger was last week in custody for a short time near Parramatta; but craftily conducting himself with apparent submission to his captors, until an occasion offered, he tripped up the heels of his unsuspecting guards, and arming himself with a reaphook, made off without further interruption."

There being such frequent straggling into the woods, it was necessary to require that no prisoner should be without his *Pass*, as an authority for his absence from home. The *Order* of October 28th, 1802, warns the population of a stupid notion respecting some European settlement over the Blue Mountains, and which, some vainly seeking to discover, had cost many their lives, and others a good flogging. The Governor calls the notion "unfounded, wicked as it is false, and calculated to bring the believers of it to destruction." He stated that some had got to the Nepean river, others to the coast, but that the rest "had wandered about near the place they had left, after being absent about ten days, most of them

nearly starved, and living on grass for five days out of the ten."

But the most extraordinary dream of that early time was the possibility of reaching China by a march to the northward. What is still more remarkable is the fact that this supposition arose two or three years after the foundation of the colony, and the rumour found ready believers for a number of years after. The earliest notice of this absurdity is in Governor Phillip's letter of November 18th, 1791:—

"Of those who have been received from Ireland in the *Queen* transport, from 15 to 20 have taken to the woods, and although several of them have been brought in, when so reduced that they could not have lived a second day if they had not been found, some of these very men have absconded a second time and must perish. Such is their ignorance that some have left the settlement to go to China, which they suppose to be at the distance of only 150 miles; others to find a town they supposed to be a few days' walk to the northward."

Another official account is as follows:—

"Some of these people had formed an idea that they could go along the coast, and subsist on oysters and other shell-fish till they reached some of the Chinese settlements; others had heard that there were a copper-coloured people only 150 miles to the northward, where they could be free. Full of these notions, three parties set off; but, after struggling about for many days, several of them were taken, and others returned to the settlements." Governor Phillip was less inclined to inflict any punishment on these people than to punish those who had deceived them by the information of "not being far from some of the Chinese settlements, and near people who would receive them, and where they would have everything they wanted, and live very happy; these reasons most of them assigned for going into the woods."

Governor Hunter sought to dispel these silly fancies, and

reported the curative means he employed in his official letter of February 15th, 1798 :—

“ Having received early information of the intention of this party, who were said to have increased to about 60, I planted a party of armed constables on whose vigilance I could depend, and they secured a gang of these *Defenders* of about 20, and brought them to prison the next day. I spoke to them, but observing a considerable degree of obstinacy and ignorance about them, I conceived there could be no better argument used to convince them of their misconduct than a severe corporal punishment, which was inflicted, and they have since been strictly looked after at their work. Some of these fellows had been provided with a figure of a compass drawn upon paper, which, with written instructions, was to have assisted them as their guide.”

He then selected the four strongest among them, giving them provisions and guides, with the means to search for themselves into the nature of the bush, that they might report to the rest. “ The whole of the men returned,” quoth he, “ with the soldiers, most completely sick of their journey.” Another party set out for the southward. A boat’s crew accidentally fell in with them at a spot “ where,” said the despatch, “ they had been nine days, and where they must soon have perished but for this miraculous event. They were brought back almost exhausted for want of food.”

In a subsequent letter, March 1st, 1798, he gave the following interesting story of some runaways found by Mr. Bass the explorer, on a small island in Bass’s Strait :—

“ They proved to be seven of a gang of fourteen, who escaped from land in a boat on the 2nd of October last, and who had been treacherously left on this desolate island by the other seven. These poor distressed wretches, who were chiefly Irish, would have endeavoured to travel northward and throw themselves upon His Majesty’s mercy, but were not able to get from this miserable island to the mainland. Mr. Bass’s boat was too small to accommodate them with a

passage ; and, as his provision was nearly expended, he could only help them to the mainland, where he furnished them with a musket and ammunition, and a pocket-compass, with lines and fish-hooks. Two of the seven were very ill, and those he took into his boat, and shared his provision with the other five, giving them the best directions in his power how to proceed, the distance being not less than 500 miles. He recommended them to keep along the coast, the better to enable them to get food. Indeed, the difficulties of the country, and the possibility of meeting hostile natives, are considerations which will occasion doubts of their ever being able to reach us. When they parted with Mr. Bass and his crew, who gave them what clothes they could spare, some tears were shed on both sides."

But it was necessary on March 23rd, 1803, to issue another warning order, saying :—"The Governor only hopes that the convicts at large will be assured that their ridiculous plans of leaving public labour to go into the mountains to China, &c., can only end in their immediate detection and punishment."

Persons were transported for 7, 14, or 21 years, while others were for life. Some received their emancipation, or freedom so far as the colony was concerned, immediately upon landing, others for special good conduct, but the rest by fulfilment of their terms of punishment. One great difficulty of the first Governors was the want of a proper list of the times of transportation. They were beset by applicants who said their time was up. To the lasting disgrace of the English authorities, a number of years passed without the transmission of such information, though requested quite imploringly by the colonial rulers. Such ought to have been furnished with each separate shipment. Yet the first and very incomplete list was forwarded by the *Granville*, November 16th, 1790. But it was not till March, 1797, in reply to a very serious remonstrance from Governor Hunter, that the Secretary of State condescended to state that *in future* lists shall be sent

from England and Ireland of the terms of sentence. Many a man was kept in servitude long beyond his time in consequence of this grievous official negligence.

A *ticket of leave* gave certain rights before an *emancipation* could be granted. The following was declared by *Order*, March 15th, 1806, to be the form for a ticket:—

“The bearer \_\_\_\_\_, convicted at \_\_\_\_\_, came in the ship \_\_\_\_\_, Captain \_\_\_\_\_, time expires \_\_\_\_\_, has the Governor’s permission to gain his livelihood by honest means; but if he demands extortionate pay for his labour, or transgresses any of the orders and rules of the colony, he will be recalled to Government labour, and such other punishment be inflicted on him as the case shall merit or as the magistrates may award, and of which all officers, settlers, cultivators, and every other individual is to take notice.”

Emancipation, though simple at first, was made either *conditional* or *absolute*; the former applying only to the colony, the latter gave permission to the person to leave New Holland. In his despatch of November 5th, 1791, Governor Phillip wrote:—“The first convict who was emancipated had been bred to surgery, and merited it for his exemplary conduct.” He was then made assistant colonial surgeon. His Honour added, “One woman has been emancipated on her marrying a superintendent.” George Barrington, the celebrated pickpocket, was emancipated in November, 1792. He was an educated, well-behaved man, and became a superintendent of police 1791.

Governor Phillip on March 5th, 1791, was troubled about his duty regarding the freed people. “To compel these people to remain,” said he, “may be attended with unpleasant consequences, for they must be made to work if fed from the public store; and if permitted to be their own masters they must rob, for they have no other way to support themselves.”

From December, 1794, to September, 1796, there were 15 who got absolute emancipation and 21 their conditional. Governor Hunter objected to some going on board foreign

ships to serve as sailors, saying, "I consider it a duty I owe to my country to prevent the loss of so many of His Majesty's subjects when their country may have occasion for them." He had a poor opinion of the emancipists, finding so many of them indulging their freedom in a license which was unpleasant for neighbours.

"Being too idle to work," said he, "they have joined large bodies of the natives, and have taught them how to annoy and distress the settlers, who have many of them been murdered by them, their houses burnt, and their stock destroyed. They have threatened to burn and destroy our crops upon the ground, and to kill our cattle whenever they can find them. I am therefore obliged to arm the herd, and it distresses me to say I shall be under the necessity of sending armed parties in all directions to scour the country."

This tendency of emancipists to turn bushrangers ceased when avenues to honest labour opened up in the growing trade of the colony. Experience proved that many of them accepted their freedom as an incentive to live a more moral and honourable life. We read often of the worst sort, but history is silent as to those who pursued a quiet and industrious course. Only by a belief in the reform of the great mass can we account for the emergence of New South Wales from the shadows of the past. Emancipists had a hard struggle at first to regain their position in society. They suffered after the fashion which deserving ticket-of-leave men know and feel in England. They who came free to the colony resented the rivalry of those who had borne the yoke of penal bondage. The colonial authorities, especially those belonging to the New South Wales Corps, strove to keep them in *their places*; losing sight of the fact that these had paid the debt they owed to society for offences, and were legally free to assume any position they could honourably secure.

## EXPLORATION OF THE COLONY.

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the history of Australia is that during the First Twenty Years of its occupancy so little exploration of the interior took place. This illustrates the feebleness of enterprise among the inhabitants, and the want of scientific interest on the part of colonial rulers.

It was a wonderful feat for Governor Phillip to sail to the top of Port Jackson, and then travel as far as the Caermarthen, Lansdown, and Richmond hills, and the river Hawkesbury ; but post-captains are scarcely good land-explorers. Captain Tench was a better landsman ; Governor Hunter saw something of the interior when hunting after the herd of wild cattle ; but Governor King was the chief encourager of exploration and discovery. Surveyor Grimes explored Stephen's Bay ; and Lieutenant Bowen, Jervis Bay. Lieutenant Shortland in September, 1797, when in pursuit of some runaways, entered Port Hunter, though the river was made known by Colonel Paterson, in the *Lady Nelson*, during the year 1800.

The Blue Mountains were often longingly regarded by the early Sydney settlers. While some of the absconders fancied a Chinese or some such settlement lay on the other side, owners of flocks and herds indulged the idea that there might be better pastures beyond. Lieutenant Dawes, in December, 1789, was out for nine days in the vain attempt to penetrate those rocky fastnesses. He returned with the tale of bad soil and a rough country. The bold Mr. Bass, surgeon of the *Reliance*, tried, in 1796, for fifteen days to overcome the obstacles. Hearing of precipitous rocks he had provided himself with iron hooks for hands and feet.

Wilson, a good bushman and a convict, told Governor Hunter in 1799 that he had crossed the Blue Mountains and reached the banks of a large river on the western side. His

tale was not believed. But *Pinkerton's Voyages* gives him credit for finding coal 80 miles south-west of Parramatta and a large river 130 miles off. Mr. Barallier, an engineer officer and the Governor's aide-de-camp, in August, 1802, attempted to reach the heights. Cayley, in 1805, took a party of the strongest men in the colony, but failed like the rest. This led Governor King to write home his conviction of the uselessness of further explorations, saying:—

“I cannot help thinking that persevering in crossing those mountains, which are a confused and barren assemblage of rocks and mountains, with impassable chasms between, would be as chimerical as useless.” Again, “As far as respects the extension of agriculture beyond the first range of mountains, that is an idea that must be given up.”

And so the best part of New South Wales, rich in minerals as in agricultural soil and grasses, remained an unknown region during these First Twenty Years. Had Sir Joseph Banks' suggestion been received this would not have been, in all probability, shrouded from view. His letter, preserved in the public archives, addressed to Captain King, then setting out to be Governor, is dated May 15th, 1798.

“We have now,” said he, “possessed the country of New South Wales more than ten years, and so much has the discovery of the interior been neglected that no one article has hitherto been discovered by the importation of which the mother country can receive any degree of return for the cost of founding and hitherto maintaining the colony. It is impossible to conceive such a body of land, as large as all Europe, does not produce vast rivers capable of being navigated into the heart of the interior, or if properly investigated, that such a country, situate in the most fruitful climate, should not produce some native raw material of importance to a manufacturing country as England is.

“Mr. Mungo Park, lately returned from a journey in Africa, where he penetrated further into the inland than any European before has done by several hundred miles, and

discovered an immense navigable river running westward, offers himself as a volunteer, to be employed in exploring the interior of New Holland by its rivers or otherwise, as may in the event be found most expedient. His moral character is unblemished, his temper mild, and his patience inexhaustible. He is sufficiently versed in astronomy to make and to calculate observations to determine both latitude and longitude. He knows geography enough to construct a map of the countries he may visit, draws a little, has a competent knowledge of botany and zoology, and has been educated in the medical line.

“ He is very moderate in his terms. He will be content with 10s. a day and his rations, and happy if his pay is settled at 12s. The amount of his outfit, for instruments, arms, presents, etc., will not, I think, exceed £100. He will want a decked vessel of about 30 tons, under the command of a lieutenant, with orders to follow his advice in all matters of exploring; and Lieutenant Flinders, a countryman of mine, a man of activity and information, who is already there, will, I am sure, be happy if he is entrusted with the command, and will enter into the spirit of his orders and agree perfectly with Park. Such hopes have I of material discoveries being made, and such zeal do I really feel for the prosperity of a colony in the founding of which I bore a considerable share.”

By Sir Joseph Banks Botany Bay had been named, and through him, to a large extent, did the Government consent to make their penal establishment there. His patriotic efforts in 1798 failed. But though Mungo Park was not to be associated with Australian exploration, his friend Flinders became, next to Cook, the great hero of maritime discovery in that part of the world.

In conjunction with Mr. Bass, and with only a lad beside, Flinders had made discoveries on the coast, though their *Tom Thumb* boat was only 8 feet long. They left Sydney March 25th, 1796. The two courageous men in 1798 entered

what was afterwards called Bass' Strait; and subsequently ascertained Van Diemen's Land was not, as had been supposed, connected with New South Wales. Though it is not necessary to follow Flinders in his voyages, it is to the honour of New South Wales that its Governor, Captain King, stood up nobly for the rights of his friend when he lay a captive in the French Mauritius.

"Guess my feelings," wrote he to the Governor of the Mauritius, April 30th, 1805, "in learning by a letter from Captain Flinders, dated Mauritius, August 8th, 1804, that notwithstanding his commission, passport, the recital of his sufferings, the unquestionable documents he possessed, and, finally, the recent cause of his putting into the Isle of France in the diminutive vessel he had embarked in after his shipwreck, consequent on the *Investigator's* being unfit to prosecute the discoveries he was charged with,—yet, that on waiting on you as Governor of the Isle of France, where he at least expected the treatment of a gentleman under the circumstances he appeared in, he was treated in every respect as a spy, except in not being executed as one." He then boldly adds, "It is a duty incumbent on me, in stating my sentiments on this occasion, to require the enlargement of that officer, with every document connected with his voyage of discovery."

Lieutenant James Grant discovered Port Phillip in the *Lady Nelson*, December 8th, 1800. In his letter to Governor King he declared he had "named this bay Governor King's Bay. It is one of the largest we have yet met with." On the margin, in red ink, the Governor wrote for the information of the Secretary of State:—"If such a deep bay as this actually exists it favours the idea of New South Wales being insulated by a Mediterranean Sea. However, this the *Lady Nelson* must determine in the voyage she is now gone on."

The visit to Sydney of the French discovery ships, *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, in 1802, gave a new impulse to Australian discovery. Admiral Baudin was so well pleased

with his reception that he sent £50 to the Governor's wife, Mrs. King, for her orphan school. The top of the letter bore the plate of two ships, and "Voyage de découvertes;" above which were the words "Liberté. Bonaparte Premier Consul. Egalité." In the military muster order-book, under August 6th, 1802, we find the parole was 'Géographe' and the countersign was 'Naturaliste.' Two Spanish ships, the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida*, came to Sydney in 1793.

## THE SYDNEY PRESS.

Governor Hunter, for his own private use, brought out the first printing-press known in Australia.

The first newspaper appeared on Saturday, March 5th, 1803, during the reign of Governor King. A description of the earliest copy is thus given in the author's *Curious Facts of Old Colonial Days* :—

"It was very badly printed on four pages of foolscap paper. It bore, at the top of the first page, its name—THE SYDNEY GAZETTE AND NEW SOUTH WALES ADVERTISER; with a very rude little wood-engraving, representing a ship, with a Union Jack, and an allegorical female figure seated on the shore. It gave the date of the commencement of the colony, 1788. Around the picture these words were written :—'Thus we hope to prosper.' It was declared to be published by authority by George Howe."

The opening address was as follows :—

"The utility of a PAPER in the COLONY as it must open a source of solid information will, we hope, be universally seen and acknowledged. We have courted the assistance of the *Inquirers* and *Intelligent* . . . We open no channel to political discussion or personal animadversion. Information is our only purpose; that accomplished, we shall consider that we have done our duty, in an exertion to merit the

approbation of the PUBLIC, and to ensure a liberal patronage to the SYDNEY GAZETTE."

The rest of the first page has official announcements respecting the granaries, liquors, &c. The notice to correspondents runs thus:—"Two slip boxes will be put up in the course of the ensuing week (one in front of the Issuing Stores at Sydney, the other in a window of the Court-house, Parramatta) for the reception of such articles of information as persons who are possessed of the means may think proper to contribute."

The arrival of the largest ship yet seen in the harbour is justly chronicled. This was the *Castle of Good Hope*, yet was only of 1000 tons. A list of prices is given; potatoes being 12s. per 100 lbs. at Kissing Point. A fight, an accident, and sundry executions, are then described. The most recent news from England is dated May 20th, 1802; nearly ten months old.

A change of the day of publication is noted April 2nd, 1803:—

"As it has sometimes happened that in consequence of this Paper's being published on Saturday, we have been necessarily compelled to omit some matter that might be interesting, we beg leave to acquaint our Readers that its Publication will in future take place on Sundays; by which means we shall be enabled to include the whole of the Ship News, and other incidental matter, for the preceding week. The inhabitants at Sydney will therefore be in future duly served on Sunday." It continued a weekly Sunday paper for seven years.

For months together, during 1805 and 1806, it appeared with two pages foolscap only. One copy had four Government advertisements, and as many from the not very enterprising public. The issue of August 23rd and 30th, 1807, was on such small paper that the type had to be carried to the very edge. There were two pages of three columns each, having altogether about 3000 words. Subsequently there came a total suspension of the periodical.

The great sorrow of the poor printer lay not in his wretched type, which only exasperated the reader, but from the inability of getting a supply of paper. This was of all sorts and sizes, as well as colour. It was in vain he advertised :—"A liberal deduction to every subscriber furnishing paper; viz. six sheets of demy, eight of foolscap, or twelve of quarto letter-paper." He made this appeal, August 31st, 1806 :—

"To the public. As we have no certainty of an immediate supply of paper, we cannot promise a publication next week."

On September 7th he intimated :—"Under the assurance of a further temporary supply of paper, we have been enabled to provide an exact sufficiency for this scanty publication." That the worthy man was not at all particular may be seen from his advertisement, January 13th, 1805 :—

"Wanted to purchase any quantity of demy, medium, folio post, or foolscap paper for the use of Printing; and which, if by any accident from damp or slight mildew rendered unfit for writing, will answer the purpose."

The paper stopped running from August 30th, 1807, till May 15th, 1808. While then noticing "Terms, three shillings upon the delivery of every fourth paper," the editor thus gleefully addresses his readers :—

"We have once more the satisfaction of rendering our service to the public. We have had repeatedly to lament the necessity of vying with the chameleon its change of colour, and of being compelled to rival the prophetic son of Oceanus in the frequency of change that has been given to our shape. To necessity we cannot dictate. As servants of the public, exertion is our duty, and commendation our hoped reward. A supply of paper guarantees the promise of a continuance of this publication until other arrivals may take place; and should our adverse destinies to any great length of time protract so desirable an event, we hope, nevertheless, in all the lively tints in which the Chinese favour us, to prosecute our labours, until relenting Fate should put an end to our

vicissitudes. This Paper is printed upon a half sheet of demy; the pages (two) made up to the very extent of our Press."

How cruel it was, then, that a man so persecuted by Fate, should have been ill-treated by his unfeeling subscribers! Again and again he asks for payment, and often asked in vain. Only 6d. a copy, he reminds them, and yet they would be so long in arrears. He tells them April 14th, 1805, that he will accept of copper, grain, or bills, so accommodating is he in his extremity. He is obliged thus urgently to appeal because of the "very extravagant price of paper." How much anxiety and suffering may be read between the lines of the following notice from the printer, December 28th, 1806!

"G. Howe, dreading the necessity of a peregrination through the extensive Hawkesbury settlement, is nevertheless compelled to form a resolution of once more encountering the fatigues certain upon so distressing a journey, under a hope that persons in arrears of subscription will liquidate their accounts."

#### RELIGION.

The early documentary history of New South Wales has but very few references to Church life. The body rather than the soul absorbed the attention of Governors. Surrounded by a population clamouring for food and raiment in those long years of famine, the primitive despatches from the Government had little to say in reference to religion, and the *Orders* from Whitehall and Downing Street are silent enough upon the same subject. The chaplain did not trouble himself to write reports, and Home officials were not more indifferent than the British public to such spiritual progress.

Before the sailing of the first fleet in 1787, though 1000 poor creatures were to be hurried off to a distant and desolate shore, untenanted but by the rudest barbarians, and thousands of miles from any civilized region, cruel and criminal was the

neglect of much which would have promoted the success of the great expedition. In no way was this more conspicuous than in the absence of any provision for the instruction of the young, or for the religious training and comfort of those who were, in most instances, victims of circumstances and real orphans of society.

The story goes that some one discovered, on the eve of sailing, that not even a chaplain had been provided. Through the agency of the benevolent Wilberforce and of Bishop Porteus, a remonstrance was made. But, though the Minister of the Crown agreed to the appointment of a clergyman, he laughed at the simplicity of persons who thought of reforming such a class of lost ones. On the arrival of the party at Port Jackson, religion had no part in the inauguration of the new settlement. Guns were fired, hats were waved, toasts were drank, hurrahs were shouted, but no prayers were said or sung. It was not a religious age for England, and the colonial child, under existing circumstances, could not be expected less heathenish than the parent. It is, however, some satisfaction to learn from Captain Tench that "On the Sunday after our landing, Divine service was performed under a great tree by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, chaplain of the settlement."

The clergyman, strangely enough, had little to say by way of official correspondence, for some years. Poor man ! Never possessed of much energy, he was crushed by the weight of evil around him. He did, however, write to Mr. Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary of State, to complain of the treatment of some convicts. A subscription had been raised at Norwich for a couple, whose condition had excited the sympathy of the townsfolk, and the money had been confided to the care of the captain of the *Alexander*. Mr. Johnson sought to make this guardian give up the amount so detained. In this letter, dated July 12, 1788, he only says of his own work :—"Even now, all things considered, I have no cause to complain." He was for years left alone there, though there

is a letter from Whitehall, August 24th, 1789, in which it was stated that the Rev. John Crowther was to be sent out as assistant-chaplain by the *Guardian* storeship, and was to receive pay at the rate of 8s a day. That gentleman failed to put in an appearance, having returned to England upon the wreck of the *Guardian* near the Cape. During a great part of 1789 the health of the chaplain frequently caused the suspension of Sunday services.

It was not until March 21st, 1792, that he was able to address the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He then apologized for not writing before, owing, as he lamely remarked, to the disturbed state of things in the colony. The main topic of this letter was the establishment of schools; or rather, his failure of effort in that direction. He states that the great majority of convicts could not read, and that there were no books to read. Believing in the advantage of Sunday schools on the English system, he had thought of forming Bible-classes; but as his only helps were two prisoner-women, of moderate education, he did not like to set them to instruct the male convicts. In this letter he exhibits his interest in the aborigines. Telling the Society he had two native girls as servants in his house, who were under Christian instruction, he urges the propriety of such an organization, formed for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, sending a missionary to the New Hollanders.

Though in action he was reputed wanting in enterprise, his heart was sincere. Conscious of his inability to be a Boanerges, rousing an evil generation with the power of a revival hero, he resolved to reach them gently through the press. He therefore prepared and had printed in London, during 1792, what he called *An Address to the inhabitants of the Colonies established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island*. This pamphlet contained 74 pages of printed matter. It was thus noticed in the *Evangelical Magazine*:—"His language resembles that of the first century more than that of the eighteenth." Donations were solicited for the free

distribution of the pamphlet, a number of copies being sold in London.

He therein exhorted his readers to study the Scriptures, to keep the Sabbath, and to engage in prayer. But some might think one line of argument of not much force with his prisoner charge. He sought to shame them into propriety by showing the effect of their conduct upon the heathen savages of New Holland. "If these ignorant natives," wrote he, "as they become more and more acquainted with our language and manners, hear you, many of you, curse, swear, lie, abound in every kind of obscene and profane conversation ; and if they observe that it is common with you to steal, to break the Sabbath, to be guilty of uncleanness, drunkenness, and other abominations, how must their minds become prejudiced, and their hearts hardened, against that pure and holy religion which *we* profess !"

That he made some effort to bring about a reformation of manners is proved by his official letter to Governor Phillip, February 29th, 1792. Some extracts will set forth the religious history of the period :—

"I have often lamented," wrote he, "and not seldom complained of, the thinness of the congregation ; such as, not one-half, one-third, and sometimes not one-fourth of the convicts, especially the women, being present. We have been here now above four years, and the first time we had public service at Port Jackson I found things much more comfortable for myself and for the congregation (for whom I would ever feel as for myself in such circumstances) than I did last Sunday : for then we had the advantage of the trees to shelter us from the sun, but now we are wholly exposed to the weather, first to the rain, which I was fearful would have made me dismiss the people, and afterwards to the wind and sun. On this account, sir, it cannot be wondered at that persons, whether of higher or lower rank, come so seldom and so reluctantly to public worship. As intrusted with the spiritual charge of those unhappy people around us, I submit it to your

Excellency's own consideration whether, before the approaching winter, some place should not be thought of and built both here and at the new settlement (*Parramatta*) for the purpose of carrying on public worship."

But the Governor could not get the men to labour at what he deemed more necessary work than church erection, and continually, in his despatches, did he complain of the slow progress of public works. He and his officers felt no inconvenience on the Sunday, and why should others complain? It is true he was not compelled, like the minister, to go to prayers, or he might have deemed church *in the open* rather unpleasant. He does not appear to have even enforced his *Order* of November 9th, 1791 :—"Every person will regularly attend public worship, which will begin at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning. The Commissary is directed to stop 2 lbs. of meat from every overseer, and 1½ lb. from every convict, male or female, who does not attend Divine service, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient cause." This *Order* was a dead letter.

On March 23rd of that year, the minister wrote to bring under the notice of Captain Phillip some domestic troubles. His family had increased, being now eight in number, and he asked for enlarged quarters. Referring to the cost of provisions, and what a help wild birds and animals would be to his table, he elsewhere wrote :—"I have frequently asked to have the privilege of a man to shoot for me now and then; this favour I never have had granted." Again, remarking that garden produce was much needed by his family, he was quietly told by the Governor, that the Church Reserve of 400 acres was open to his use :—"But to this day," cried the poor minister, "he has not been able to let me have any help to cultivate it, neither has there been so much as a tree fallen upon it." And yet, in spite of ill-health, he had himself attempted raising some vegetables. He was, in truth, an excellent gardener, and made a fair fortune out of his colonial farm and orangery.

His letters are never cheerful and hopeful. "I feel," said he, "such rheumatic pains and weakness that I can scarcely go through the duties of my office."—"I have to perform Divine service at three different places; viz., at Sydney, Parramatta, and at a settlement about three miles to the westward of Parramatta, and at never a one of these three places is there to this day any place of worship erected, nor so much as talked of. By the grace of God, however, I am resolved to go on in the discharge of my duty till I can hold out no longer, and then I must give up, and leave this miserable people to spend their Sabbaths in a manner wholly like heathen."

"I go up," said he, "to Parramatta as usual once a fortnight. On Sunday morning early I now ride up to the new settlement, and preach in the open air about 7 o'clock to about 600 convicts." He also preached at 10 and 4 o'clock. Later on he intimated his disappointment, saying:—"Last spring there was the foundation of a church laid at Parramatta; before it was finished it was converted into a gaol, or a lock-up house; and now it is converted into a granary. The Record Office contains two letters addressed by the Hon. Mr. Wilberforce in 1792. He had informed the Archbishop of Canterbury that he had at last succeeded in getting another clergyman for the destitute colony. His Grace, in reply, August 4th, is quite delighted that "one is at last found who will undertake that difficult and important mission." Clergymen had not much of a missionary spirit in those days, and no snug parsonages were to be enjoyed in New South Wales. Extracts from the letter of Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Secretary Dundas, August 7th, show the spirit of this earnest man. He was pleading for the appointment of a Mr. Portee as chaplain:—

"Let me be authorized, therefore," asks he, "to inform Mr. Portee that he may have the appointment. The sooner he can be got out the better. I believe this man consents from the same principle of a sense of duty on which a soldier

encounters the heats of India or the woods of America. Though you and I do not agree on these topics of a religious nature, you must acknowledge the propriety of endeavouring, for the happiness of every community, to introduce and keep alive amongst the bulk of the people such a sense of religion as will make them temperate, and orderly, and domestic, and contented. Now, as I remember, you remarked that this holds with peculiar force in the case of such a society as that of New South Wales, and yet I am sorry to tell you that amongst the higher as well as the lower ranks, a degree of open profligacy and vice is allowed if not encouraged there, which exceeds what we suffer to appear in broad day in this country. Two clergymen, one at each settlement, are altogether unequal to the task of watching over such large societies in that attentive way that is to be desired."

Governor Phillip had felt himself unable to comply with the urgent appeal of the clergyman to build a place of worship. When he left, the officer in command, Major Grose, showed no manner of sympathy toward this object. There was never any cordiality between the clergy and the New South Wales Corps. The chaplain set about the work himself. Particulars of this rude and modest church are given in the author's *Curious Facts of Old Colonial Days*.

The Rev. R. Johnson has been usually credited with not only zeal for the Church, but self-denying munificence toward it. It is commonly supposed that the whole charge of the structure was met by himself. Official records point out that though he built, he endeavoured to make the Government pay for his outlay, and ultimately succeeded in getting back his cash. But the Acting Governor sought to rob him of the least possible credit in the undertaking.

In Major Grose's despatch to Mr. Dundas, September 4th, 1793, we read as follows:—

"At the desire of the Rev. Mr. Johnston (*name not correctly known by this Acting Governor*) I have the honour of forwarding a letter written by himself to request that

some expenses he has been at in erecting a house for the purposes of public worship be reimbursed him.

“I cannot pass over this business without observing that Mr. Johnston, who is one of the people called *Methodists*, is a very troublesome, discontented character. His charge for this church is infinitely more than it ought to have cost; and his attempt to make a charge of it at all surprises me exceedingly; for, on his application to myself for a variety of little articles with which he has been furnished from the stores, he has invariably stated that, as he was building this church at his own expense, he hoped to be obliged; and, on this account generally was accommodated with whatever he came to ask.

“In compliance with his request, I have enclosed the estimate of his expenses, but I beg not to be understood as at all meaning to countenance his application.”

Then follows the estimate, which is dated September 3rd, 1793, and is signed, *Richard Johnson*. It is not a well constructed bill, and the items of payment may seem strange for the erection of a church. But it must be remembered that spirits got more work, or had it done at a cheaper rate, than dollars could have done. Without calculation for the manual labour of himself and convict men, the outlay is thus put together:—

Paid for, in 20½ gallons spirits, 116 cwt. flour, 18½ lbs. pork, 33½ lbs. beef, 3 lbs. tobacco, 5 lbs. tea; real price—	£7 14s. 11d.	but estimated value	... ...	£14 9 9½
Paid in dollars	...	...	...	59 18 0
Real price of building	...	...	...	67 12 11
Computed price of building	...	...	...	<u>74 7 9</u>

He explained that by the ‘real price’ he meant the actual cost to himself; the ‘computed’ being the market value. As the chronological record proceeds this bill of costs will reappear from time to time.

Mr. Johnson was afterwards told of the terms in which Major Grose had spoken of his demand. He, therefore, wrote to the Secretary of State, April 8th, 1794, to defend himself and his character, as well as to discharge a broadside against his calumniator :—

“ Soon after Governor Phillip left the colony,” said he, “ Major Grose gave out an order for Divine service to be performed at 6 o’clock in the morning, which order, though for various reasons not meeting with my ideas, I strictly attended to. One morning, as I was going through the service, I was interrupted first by the improper conduct of two soldiers, and soon after by the beat of a drum, when instantly the corps took up their arms, got into their ranks, and marched away. I had been barely three-quarters of an hour in the whole service, and was then about the middle of my discourse. I have consulted the canons of the Church of England, and to them I refer you whether such conduct,” &c. &c.

He then enters upon the church account. He had built “after having waited five years and a half, and no prospect of any place being about to be built for this purpose.” He had many grievances. Once he was kept waiting half-an-hour beside a grave, not finished for the interment. He had even been refused the aid of a sexton to clean the church and ring the bell, having to employ his own man for the purpose :—“ I do not see,” added he, “ why a clergyman should be denied what is necessary for him in the discharge of his duty.”

As might be expected, he came into collision with the Acting Governor. He told the Minister of State :—“ I could not forbear signifying that I conceived myself extremely slighted, and that as chaplain to the colony, I had reason to expect greater support. This occasioned some warm dispute and altercation, when some ill-natured and unfounded reflections were thrown out upon me.” On his church glebe he was allowed but two convict labourers, while each officer had ten. Applying for more, Major Grose refused to grant the favour ; “ and at the same time signified that if I should

resign my claim to the church land, I should have a grant the same as others." He then admits :—" A grant of 100 acres was then given me, and seven men more to assist in clearing and cultivating it." This farm he subsequently sold for a considerable sum.

Another turn of the tide followed. He was to have had the gift of a cow, then a gratuity worth £80 :—" But instead of this promise being made good to me," said he, " all my men, domestics included, at a moment's warning, were taken away—except two." He was compelled to hire at forty shillings a week ; " and, after all," said he, " my corn is exposed to perpetual depredations for want of proper assistance to protect it." It was a grievous cause of complaint to this farming clergyman that " only two men are allowed to me, whilst some have over twenty." He wrote also a full account of his cares to Mr. Wilberforce, the Bishop of London and others.

The other side of the story is thus put by the Major, April 29th, 1794 :—

" It has always been my wish to make a clergyman as comfortable as I could. I have not always received the most grateful return, and was it not in pity to a large family, I should represent the disorderly behaviour of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, from whom I have received treatment very unbecoming his character as a clergyman to offer, and not very consistent with my situation to put up with."

Again, we have the Acting Governor writing home on July 5th, 1794, saying :—" Amongst the buildings that have been erected since the departure of Governor Phillip, a church has been built that will contain a congregation of 300 persons. I mention this circumstance particularly, because I am given to understand that the Rev. R. Johnson, who is really a most troublesome character, has endeavoured to persuade the Archbishop of Canterbury that ecclesiastical matters are not at all attended to, and that there is no place of worship, excepting a building put up at his own expense."

Mr. Wilberforce came to his rescue in a letter, August 2nd, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, which was after this kind :—

“ Mr. Johnson the chaplain has transmitted to me the copy of a letter you must have received from him, wishing me to mediate with you for its favourable reception. Now, however, when I tell you that he is one of the worthiest men breathing, the most active, the most humble, and at the same time very little acquainted with the world, I trust I have said enough to excuse the step he has taken, and to obtain his reimbursement. In truth, £67 for a church is rather a more moderate charge than Government I believe is used to.”

Mr. Johnson, however gentle and humble, was fairly roused, and was determined to have his due. He returned to the charge on November 24th of that year, and again went over his story with Mr. Dundas :—“ Only requiring,” said he, “ that I be supported as a clergyman, and treated as a gentleman.” He assured His Majesty’s Secretary that he was prepared to go further; adding :—“ But should any representations be made that may require my returning home, I shall cheerfully resign my appointment, and be ready to appear before any person, and at any time, it may be deemed proper to answer for my conduct.”

Another year passes, and not a word of reply came to the expectant minister. On December 10th, 1795, he sent a fresh letter to the new Governor, Captain Hunter. Re-opening the case of the church building, he goes on to declare :—

“ But from letters which I have lately received from some respectable friends, some doubts have arisen in my mind whether the application and requirements I have made will be complied with. After having declared that my sole intention in undertaking and accomplishing this business was for the good of the service, I submit to you, sir, whether there could be anything unreasonable or improper in making such a request and application.” He then asks his Excellency to plead his cause with the Ministry. He also forwards the following :—

“An estimate of the expenses in building a temporary place of worship at Sydney, New South Wales, in the year 1793 :

	£	s.	d.
From June 10th to September 3rd, paid in }			
various articles of necessaries to the }	7	15	2
amount of			
And from the 15th of June to the 19th of }	59	18	0
September, paid in cash			
	<u>67</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

Captain Hunter wrote home recommending the application. Then came the reply from Whitehall, January 1st, 1797 :— “If you are satisfied that Mr. Johnson’s account of the expenses he has incurred in the erection of a temporary place of worship is correct, I see no objection to your disbursing him the amount by a bill on the Lords Commissioners of the colony.” Thus, after a struggle of four years this paltry sum was paid. One evident cause of the delay was the dissatisfaction felt at any Government officer, chaplain or other, undertaking supposed public work on his own account, paying the charges as he pleased to make them, and then demanding repayment for his unauthorized outlay.

The year after, the wearied minister sought to retire. His letter to the Duke of Portland was written July 12th, 1798. “The faculty,” said he, “have frequently given it as their opinion that the only, or at least the most likely, means of my health being restored, is by returning for a time to my native country.”

The Government seemed willing that he should retire, and did not urge his resumption of clerical duties at Port Jackson. “By his prudence and economy,” observed ex-General Holt, “he made a large fortune, with which he is now about to return to England.” His farm of 600 acres, and his flock of sheep, were purchased by Mr. Cox, one of the father agriculturists of New South Wales. An amiable and a pious

man, he possessed little of that force of character inherited by his assistant clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, and so failed to leave much moral impress of his visit upon the history of the colony.

Governor Hunter, referring to the loss, on October 1st, 1798, of the early church, reported on November 1st:—"In two hours it was completely consumed." There can be no doubt that it was wilfully fired by those who objected to compulsory attendance at worship. His Excellency, however, wrote about "a large store house, which had not yet been applied to its intended purpose. I have had it fitted up as a temporary place for public worship, and I have laid the foundation of a large and substantial stone church at Sydney, which we shall continue to work at with such men as we can afford from other essential labour, until it is finished. I have also laid the foundation of a church of smaller size at Parramatta."

The cause of the destruction of the first building is distinctly indicated by Captain Hunter in his letter of November 1st, saying:—"About a month past, some wicked and disaffected person or persons, in consequence of a strict order which I saw it absolutely necessary to issue, for compelling a decent attention upon Divine Service, and a more sober and orderly manner of spending the Sabbath day, took an opportunity of a windy and dark evening, and set fire to the church." At Parramatta, Mr. Johnson had to perform service in the open air or some deserted hut; as the Governor wrote in August, 1796:—"Having no place for Divine Service but any hut which may happen to be empty."

It was during the early years that Sydney received the flying missionaries from the South Seas. While a few of the original band of the London Missionary Society remained on Tahiti, in the midst of cares and dangers, until the bright day of religious triumph came, the rest took advantage of a whaler calling in on her way to Port Jackson, and so became settlers in Australia. They were by no means welcomed in

Sydney, being generally regarded as cowardly runaways from their post of duty. Doubtless no very judicious selection had been made in the appointment of the missionaries in the *Duff*. Almost all are described as ill-educated mechanics, whose pious enthusiasm rather evaporated in the presence of actual difficulties in heathendom, and who were, in some respects, inferior to the men they came to instruct. The Rev. S. Marsden, fully possessed of a true missionary spirit, deemed them suitable enough to go among negro slaves, but without the tact and gentlemanly deportment required for the more polished Tahitians.

While the majority of these ex-missionaries quietly dropped into the ordinary groove of colonial life, being furnished with rations by the Government, others strove to exert a good influence among those with whom they were associated in exile. Some even preached occasionally, and otherwise helped the resident chaplain. As the two first clergymen were recognized in their day as *Methodists*, having been associated with those people in England, and as the emigrant missionaries were mostly religious dissenters, a kind feeling was likely to spring up between them. Yet Mr. Marsden did not scruple to say that most of them were unfit for their office. At the same time he held that they should have put on a bold front with the islanders, and have been prepared to maintain their ground if necessary by force of arms. One of them, Mr. Henry, died at Kissing Point, near Sydney, at the age of ninety. The despatch from Governor Hunter, dated April 14th, 1798, notes the arrival of the men by the *Nautilus* brig from Tahiti.

Mr. Johnson's letter to the chairman of the London Missionary Society gives more extended notice of these refugees to Sydney. Extracts therefrom are here appended:—

“With one or two I did not feel disposed to claim any acquaintance, and fear the Society has been deceived in them. Mr. Clode's conduct, as a Christian man, is both humble and exemplary; as a surgeon, humane and attentive; and as a

missionary, he spent much of his time among the natives. My friend Henry appears anxious to return to Otaheite. He is a studious, serious young man, and appears well adapted for the work upon which he was sent out, and I hope before long a door in Providence may open for his return. Mr. Cover does not appear so anxious to return, unless a stronger body of people were upon the island to defeat any evil intentions of the natives. He is, I trust, a person of solid piety, and possessed of good ministerial abilities; and he, together with Messrs. Henry and Hassel, has almost from the first arrival at Port Jackson gone to the settlements established in different parts of the colony to preach and exhort among the settlers. His Excellency the Governor has been, and still continues to be, very kind and attentive to the missionaries."

He gave particulars of the death of the gentle Mr. Clode. That gentleman had been very kind to a soldier and his wife, even lending them money. To prevent any claim being made for the cash, the two conspired with a convict to murder the missionary doctor. After the deed, they set fire to the house, so that the body might be consumed. All three suffered the penalty for their crime. On the Sunday, Mr. Johnson preached in the morning from 2 Samuel xvi. 17 :—"Is this thy kindness to thy friend?" In the evening his text was from Jer. vi. 10 :—"To whom shall I speak and give warning that they may hear?" He further narrates :—"In the evening, Mr. Cover gave an exhortation at my house, to his brethren of the mission, to my family, and some others, upon the same occasion."

It should be mentioned that when the New South Wales Corps was formed, a chaplain, Mr. Bain, was appointed. He did not remain long. He was on Norfolk Island in 1792 till May, 1793. The earliest *Order* for worship was issued on that island on April, 1788 :—"No person is to absent himself from public worship, which will begin every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, in the Commandant's House, when every one

will come clean and orderly, and behave themselves devoutly." The Commandant read prayers.

Among the Christianizing agencies of the early days, the efforts of Mr. Muir, one of the so-called Scotch martyrs of freedom, must not be forgotten. However misled as a politician, through which he became a transported felon, he ever conducted himself as a Christian gentleman. Obtaining the use of the first and then the only press in the colony, brought out by Governor Hunter, he struck off with his own hands slips of passages of Scripture, and these he distributed among the prisoners. As the author of *Australian Discovery and Colonization* truly observes:—"The effect of such efforts at a time when there was scarcely a Bible or a religious book in the colony, and very little care taken for the spiritual welfare of the prisoners, can hardly be estimated."

The arrival of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, in 1794, marked the commencement of a revolution in the religious history of the colony. It was on June 31st, 1793, that Mr. Secretary Dundas announced that Mr. Marsden was about to sail in the *William*, to perform the colonial duties of assistant-chaplain. And though for the first years of his ministry he kept himself pretty much out of public notice, he hid not his light under a bushel as soon as he became chaplain-in-chief by the retirement of Mr. Johnson.

This remarkable man, who was styled 'a moral hero' by the great and good Wilberforce, was about the best abused and most praised of the early colonial celebrities. The judgment of the eloquent historian, the Rev. John West, is thus expressed:—"Nothing can be more opposite than the estimates of his character given by the partizans of the emancipists, and those furnished by his ecclesiastical associates. Soured by the vices rampant about him, and perhaps determined by the administration of justice, when it was hard to distinguish the magistrate from the executioner, he does not always appear to have merited the unmeasured eulogies of his friends."

In truth, the first Twenty Years of New South Wales

contain few references to the ministerial work of Mr. Marsden. It was when evil was most rampant, when the feebleness of his superior chaplain was most conspicuous, and when under the rule of friendly Governors, that his voice was least heard. Afterwards, when he appeared wealthy as a man, powerful as a magistrate, and influential as the senior chaplain, he became a public character, and the leading spirit of an aggressive party. Had he been in the colony instead of on a long visit to England, during the conflict between Governor Bligh and the New South Wales Corps, a different turn to the history of that period would probably have taken place. His intellectual vigour, his fearlessness of character, his knowledge of parties, his promptitude of action, his solid common sense, and his honesty of purpose, would in all probability have prevented the rebellion of 1808.

A village blacksmith among the Yorkshire hills, he learned to strike hard in early years, and his strong frame was supported by as strong a will. When converted by a wandering party of Methodists, he resolved to be a preacher, and applied himself to study with all his native ardour. It was not long before he became popular in the pulpit. His ardour or a desire for a wider sphere of influence subsequently led to his ordination in the Church of England through the Elland Society. Such a man had no sooner heard of an assistant clergyman being wanted in New South Wales than he offered himself for the service, and pressed his suit successfully. It is worthy of notice that, while waiting for his ship at the Isle of Wight, he preached his farewell sermon in England. A gentle girl heard and blessed his words. Years after, her Vicar, the Rev. Leigh Richmond, published an account of her beautiful life under the title of *The Dairymen's Daughter*.

By attending to his duties as a minister merely he could have secured the respect of officials and the educated free, while earning the gratitude and affection of the down-trodden prisoner, the neglected outcast, and the miserable poor. But as the principal civil magistrate in a penal colony, he could

hardly fail to make many enemies. Stern in his justice, he was often accused of cruelty, though never the tool of wealthy oppressors. He sat on the bench when several men were sentenced to 500 and even to 1000 lashes for simply leaving their work or declining to make a confession. It is not pleasant to read in West's *History of Tasmania* :—"A servant charged with a misdemeanour, he (Mr. Marsden) flogged ; who then took to the bush, and re-appearing, charged with a capital crime, was hanged ; and the magisterial divine attended him on the scaffold." His severity to prisoners with the *cat* led the Rev. Dr. Lang to remark :—"In other countries the clergy have been often accused of taking the fleece ; but New South Wales is the only country I have ever heard of in which they are openly authorized, under a royal commission, to take the *hide* also, or to flay the flock alive."

Mr. Marsden had no cause of complaint from want of co-operation in Governors Hunter, King, and Bligh. But very early in General Macquarie's reign, he found himself on the Opposition Benches, and proved his metal in one long conflict with Government House. He contended for the absolute control of all public affairs by the free-born citizens ; but the Governor, more humanely and wisely, sought to raise the self-respect of the emancipist class, and smooth away difficulties in the way of reformed prisoners. As this contest, however, took place beyond the period engaging the reader's attention in this work, further reference to it is unnecessary.

Governor King, March 1st, 1804, reported on the Church question. This was after the departure of Mr. Johnson, and when Mr. Marsden stood the sole representative of clerical influence. In the spirit of true charity, his Excellency and his reverence officially recognized ministers outside the pale of the Establishment. His despatch had this passage :—

" For the last three years we have had but one regular clergyman, who does duty on Sunday morning at Sydney, and in the afternoon at Parramatta, and generally once in the week he visits one of the out districts for this purpose, and so

sensible have I been, in conformity to my early education, of enforcing an attendance to religious duties, that I have caused three missionaries (*formerly at Tahiti*) with their families to be victualled and receive other indulgences, as a recompense for their reading prayers and preaching every Sunday at those settlements that the Rev. S. Marsden cannot attend, and I am happy to assure your Lordship, from my own knowledge, that those religious meetings are duly and numerously attended."

On February 16th, 1800, Mr. Marsden wrote for permission to return home on a visit, owing, as he said, to "important changes having taken place in my family since my departure from England." He was away from the colony at one time for two years, and was absent in the important year of 1807-8.

Another clergyman received an appointment as assistant-chaplain in 1800, but failed to take up his cross, as we learn from Captain King's letters home in March and August, 1801. The despatch of March 10th is interesting for its reference to the first chaplain, then absent on leave, whose name he failed to catch correctly, not less than to the defaulting Rev. Mr. Haddock.

"The clergyman," wrote he, "that was engaged to go to New South Wales, and who ought to have arrived by the *Porpoise*, I find did not choose to proceed in that ship, or the *Royal Admiral*, without assigning any reason or excuse. In reporting the circumstance to your Grace, I feel much for the part I took in engaging this person, and the trouble he has occasioned. But as I hope his salary has been stopped at the Treasury, I have to request that, as only one clergyman now remains in the colony and Norfolk Island, the Rev. Mr. Johnstone, who went home in the *Buffalo*, may be directed to return hither as soon as possible, or another clergyman in his stead, as one alone is very unequal to the district of our present extended settlement."

The next clergyman of the Church of England who claims attention is the Rev. Henry Fulton, the Irish rebel. He had

been unfortunately drawn into the ill-fated rise in Ireland ; and, being convicted at Waterford of sedition, was transported to Botany Bay, to use the phrase of the day. He was clearly a man of simplicity of character, quiet in demeanour, honest in principle, and pious in religion. The despatch of March 1st, 1802, has this reference to him :—

“ There is only one clergyman in this colony, and the Rev. Mr. Fulton, sent from Ireland for seditious practices, having conducted himself with great propriety and in a most exemplary manner since he has been here, I have given him a conditional emancipation, and directed him to perform Divine Service at Norfolk Island until the clergyman arrives.”

The reply from Downing Street in August following is satisfactory. For the first time in English history a clergyman who had been degraded by conviction is permitted to resume his profession under Government appointment. It was one sign of more hopeful times, an evidence that officials, at any rate, were ready to forget past follies in an amended life. The Duke of Portland declared :—“ Provided the conduct of Mr. Fulton, during the time in which he has performed the duties of a clergyman in Norfolk Island, has been such as to merit your approbation, you are at liberty to employ him in that situation.”

Governor Bligh, writing in February, 1807, for another minister, who should be a married man, intimates that Mr. Fulton will take Mr. Marsden’s place while on leave. “ The Reverend Mr. Marsden,” said he, “ has had no person to assist him for the last six years until just before I arrived, when a Mr. Fulton returned from Norfolk Island to do the duty while he is absent. This gentleman had the misfortune to be sent to this country from Ireland in 1798. His character has been like a good moral man becoming his situation, and has a wife and three children.”

Between the Governor and this Church minister a warm feeling of friendship arose ; and when Captain Bligh was in trouble with the rebellious Major Johnstone and the soldiery

of New South Wales it was the ex-clerical rebel who stood by the representative of British sovereignty. Some time after, Admiral Bligh thus referred to the part played by his friend in those critical times :—

“ As the Rev. Henry Fulton showed a public and pointed disapprobation of their measures on the evening of the 26th of January, and when examined before their committee showed no disposition to yield to them, orders were issued through Major Johnstone that he should consider himself as suspended from his office as chaplain. MacArthur, as ordinary, introduced a prayer for Major Johnstone, styling him Lieutenant-Governor, into the Liturgy, the same as that formerly used for the Viceroy of Ireland. Crook, a missionary, was appointed to perform Divine Service on Sunday and to baptize ; and Charles Grimes, Surveyor-General, Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp, and Ensign Archibald Bell were ordered to perform the ceremony of marriage. A *General Order* was issued that all officers should go to church on Sunday the 31st of January ; and it was expected that every well-disposed person should attend to return thanks to Almighty God for their deliverance on the remarkable 26th of January.”

The Civil Revolution that day in 1808, completing the period of the First Twenty Years of New South Wales, was virtually a revolution in the Colonial Church. The deposition of the Governor was accompanied by the deposition of the only official representative of religion.

The Irish ex-General Holt has thus described the religious destitution he witnessed :—“ Without minister or priest of any kind or preacher, except a barn ranter that neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants would go to listen to. There was no clergyman to visit the sick, baptize the infants, or church the women ; so we were reduced to the same state as the heathen natives.”

A few words may be added respecting the first churches of the colony.

It was on January 10th, 1798, that Governor Hunter wrote to the Duke of Portland:—"This colony has now been a long time established without a proper building for the clergy to perform Divine Service in, which is really a disgrace to us as a Christian colony, and had not my hands been so tied up a church should have been raised long since. I trust, however, that I shall very soon be able to lay the foundation of a church." The foundation of St. Phillip's church was laid toward the end of 1800. A *Gazette* of April, 1804, indicates that the walls were not up then.

A stone church was begun at Parramatta. Being smaller, seating only 400 persons, it was finished as early as April 10th, 1803. A Government *Order* of July 23rd, 1802, directed the formation of two parishes in the colony, and intimated "that the churches now building at Sydney and Parramatta be respectfully named St. Phillip and St. John." That there might be no mistake as to the saints after whom the churches were called, it is officially declared that the first was after *Philip*, the first Governor, and the other after *John* Hunter, the second ruler. General Macquarie, being only *Lachlan*, had no chance of entrance into the *quasi* order of colonial saints like those favoured with biblical appellations. The Sydney St. Phillip was not completed till 1807. The foundation of a 50 feet tower was laid July 6th, 1806. The writer on a visit to Parramatta in 1881, found the two towers of the original church intact, though the body of the church has been rebuilt. Hawkesbury, the farming centre, had a building began in 1804 to serve as schoolroom and church. The inhabitants were to repay Government the expense partly in the annual charge of 2d. an acre. "This," said Governor King in his proclamation of August 10th, 1804, "was for the purpose of providing a maintenance for such persons as may be appointed to instruct their children, and for the support of a person authorized by the Governor to perform Divine Service at the schoolhouse and chapel now building at the expense of the Crown."

A further *Order* about this Hawkesbury room appeared August 14th, when it was announced that the place "will soon be ready for the reception of the children, and to serve as a place of public worship on the Sabbath. A person of the Missionary Society, whose manners and conduct in life has been exemplary, will have the charge of educating the children in that quarter. As he has hitherto had no other remuneration for his performing Divine Service than his ration, at the last *muster* a proposal was made to the settlers to provide a stipend for the missionary."

The religious history of Protestantism during the First Twenty Years of New South Wales is confined to the Church of England. Though there were members of other denominations, both among the free and bond, they organized themselves into no society and erected no place of worship. It was not until the arrival of Mr. Lang in 1823 that Presbyterianism took root. The Methodists made a feeble beginning under the fostering wing of the chaplain in 1813. Other bodies were much later in the Australian field.

The Roman Catholics, however, had an eventful history during the earlier period. The State records contain a most affecting memorial, signed by Thomas Walshe, priest, requesting permission to go out with the first fleet in 1787. It was addressed to Lord Sydney. The commencement was as follows:—

"MY LORD,

"You have been apprised of the desire of two clergymen of the Catholick persuasion which they have to instruct the convicts who are of their faith, and who are destined for Botany Bay."

He then pleads, as "one of those clergymen who wish to take care of the convicts of my persuasion," on behalf of "300 ignorant, you may imagine, of every principle of duty to God and man." He most respectfully reminds his Lordship:—"It is well known that these people will not pay the

attention to other ministers which they do to their own." In his earnest pleading, he assures the Secretary of State that if allowed to accompany them, "these poor people will bless and thank you."

Well aware of the humble position of a Roman Catholic priest, who could not hope for official recognition when penal enactments against his *persuasion* were so bitterly enforced, he submissively writes :—"We are not so presumptuous as to wish support from Government. We offer our voluntary services." Requesting only a berth in the ship, he closes his letter with this apologetic sentence :—"We hope, however, not to offend in entreating for our passage."

In the Record Office is the following paper :—

"Memorandum about sending two Roman Catholic priests to Botany Bay.

"By reports from three different Roman Catholic priests, who have for many years attended to Roman Catholic convicts on board the hulks at Woolwich and Gosport, and from him who attends to Roman Catholic culprits in Newgate, the number of different Roman Catholics of various countries transported to Botany Bay amounts to about 800. If an enquiry be made of the commanders of the hulks at Woolwich and Gosport, it will be found that the conduct of the convicts of that persuasion has been considerably mended since the admission of their clergy to attend them. The most moderate terms that Government would think proper to prescribe, they would readily accept."

The author failed to discover the writer of this interesting Memorandum, though it evidently bears upon the petition of the Rev. Thomas Walshe.

But the Colonial Roman Catholic Church first appears in the official documents in the year 1792. A petition for the Rights of Worship was presented to Governor Phillip at Parramatta. It is most beautifully written on what was a great curiosity in those times,—a page of good foolscap paper. The language was prudent, but dignified. Though there were

hundreds of the faith there, but a very few dared to affix their signature. These were a sailor-farmer and his wife, with three emancipists. The names deserve to be honourably mentioned. They are thus described:—"Thomas Tynan, marine settler; Simon Burne (his mark); Joseph Morley and John Brown, convict settlers, and Mary Macdonald (her mark), marine settler's wife." The memorial began:—

" May it please your Excellency :

" We the undersigned, with the most humble respect, take the liberty of representing to your Excellency the inconvenience we find in not being indulged heretofore with a Pastor of our Religion. Notwithstanding the violation of the laws of our country, we would still wish to inherit the laws of our Creator in the form we have been instructed in our youth, the principles of which we never wish to irradicate, whether from a reverence or duty to our parents (who have instructed us in it) or from prejudice imbibed from the precepts taught us by our priests. We therefore humbly implore your Excellency's assistance, on your return to England, to represent to His Majesty's Ministers that it may be taken into consideration, as our present opinion is that nothing else would induce us ever to depart from His Majesty's colony here unless the idea of going into eternity without the assistance of a Catholic priest."

But three priests had been transported for the part they took in the Irish rebellion of 1798. Never treated as ordinary convicts, no work being required from them, they were expressly forbidden in any way to officiate as clergymen, though they applied more than once for this liberty.

One of these, Mr. Harold, was supposed to be implicated in an attempted Irish rebellion in New South Wales during 1800, and was imprisoned on suspicion. He cleared himself of the charge, and undertook to make known the deposit of concealed pikes. Of another, O'Neal, nothing is recorded. But of Mr. Dixon we hear something between 1802 and 1806.

Governor King had urged upon the Ministry the expediency of employing these gentlemen. At last he received permission in the following letter from London, bearing date August 29th, 1802 :

“ The Catholic priests, Dixon, O’Neal, and Harold, have been represented to me as persons who may not be undeserving of the conditional emancipation above explained ; if their conduct should have justified this representation, and you should be of opinion that the priests may be usefully employed either as schoolmasters, or in the *exercise of their clerical functions*, you may avail yourself of their services.”

This liberality was one of the good outcomes of the Union of Ireland with England. It was the earliest recognition of a Roman Catholic priest in the colony. But though authorized to do something, Mr. Dixon was jealously watched in his proceedings, and carefully guarded against doing too much. Preparations were made in New South Wales to carry out the change of policy.

First of all came the *General Order* of April 12th, 1803 :— “ Every person throughout the colony professing the Roman Catholic religion are to attend Government House, Parramatta.” This meeting was to take place at 10 a.m. on April 20th.

A week after, on April 19th, appeared a proclamation from Governor King, stating that a conditional pardon had been granted by His Majesty’s Secretary of State to the Rev. Mr. Dixon, to enable him to conduct public worship as a Roman Catholic priest. It was publicly announced that this gentleman had taken the oaths of allegiance. But it was not until May 15th that a proclamation ordered the first assembly of Roman Catholics at Sydney. Mr. Dixon was ever after a consistent loyalist, and warmly supported the officials in the rebellion of 1804. He retired home to Ireland in 1808.

But the proclamation of April 19th, 1803, is interesting for the list of conditions to which the newly-tolerated had to submit :—

1st. “ That they observe with becoming gratitude that this

extension of liberal toleration proceeds from the piety and benevolence of our Most Gracious Sovereign, to whom, as well as our parent country at large, we are under Providence indebted for the blessings we enjoy.

2nd. "That the religious exercises of this worship may suffer no hindrance, it is expected that no seditious conversations that can in any wise injure His Majesty's Government, or affect the tranquillity of this colony, will ever happen."

The 3rd condition related to confinement to their own quarter for worship, as service would take place in weekly rotation at Sydney, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury. The 4th gives the time of service at 9 a.m. The 5th intimates that the priest is held responsible for good order at worship, as well as on the road to and from the service. The 6th states that the police will be stationed near; and the 7th orders the punishment of any disturbers of a meeting, or abusers of the priest or teacher "of any tolerated sect."

The close of the First Twenty Years witnessed the feeble birth of religious liberty.

#### SCHOOLS.

Great as was the neglect of the Home Government in making no provision for the spiritual wants of the poor convicts, their utter indifference to the instruction of the children was even more lamentable. It was sad enough to be severed from the humanizing influences of civilized England, yet it was worse to be not only away from the sound of church-going bells, and the hum of voices in the village school, but exposed to all the degrading associations of such a population. Still, one could not expect a State that disregarded the claims of little ones in the Home Country to heed those of the offspring of exiles.

There were children who were on board the first ships, and others were born after the formation of the settlement. The

first chaplain, who was rather content for several years without a church, appears to have become concerned about the juveniles of his charge some four years after his arrival. It was in 1792 that he wrote to the venerable Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Lamenting the neglected condition of the children, he suggests that educated convicts might be found as teachers, were means provided to pay for their services. Two women were named who had gathered together a few in their own huts. To each of these the Society sent a grant of £10. Others received a similar gratuity afterwards. Susannah Hunt, W. Webster, and W. Richardson, were early teachers. But the first Evening School was opened by Mr. Shrievs at *The Rocks*, in August, 1807.

The first room used as a school-house was that raised for a church, but subsequently wilfully burnt down. Governor Phillip spoke of the building being used "on the week-days as a school-house, in which from 150 to 200 children were educated, under the immediate superintendence of the clergyman." In his despatch of August, 1796, he wrote that "a public school for the care and education of children is much wanted to save them from certain ruin." He adds that the need was as great for Parramatta as for Sydney. But though the Ministry turned a deaf ear to such an appeal, the Church Society in London continued its good offices. In its Report for 1796, we read:—"It was resolved upon by the Society, some time since, to extend their assistance to this new settlement, and for that purpose to begin with holding out an encouragement to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, as the most likely means of effecting a reformation."

Most gratefully should colonial educationalists acknowledge the generous efforts of this Society at such a time of absolute neglect, and recognize the noble sentiment thus enunciated, that the right training of children is the proper mode of elevating a nation.

The benevolent Wilberforce had a thought for education in

New South Wales. Interested in Lieutenant Dawes, who sought some appointment there, the worthy philanthropist wrote August 2nd, 1794, to Mr. Secretary Dundas about him. "He went to New South Wales," says Mr. Wilberforce, "with the original settlers, and was there between four and five years. He then came back to be married, meaning to return with his wife, and fix in New South Wales for the remainder of his life." He added, as some qualification:—"Mr. Dawes understands something of the language of the natives." In a letter about this to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he said:—"I have proposed him to Dundas to be Superintendent of Schools, which I trust Governor Hunter will be directed or authorized, if he should see it practicable, both for the native and European children. It was not his idea, but my own, and he thinks proper people to instruct the children may be selected from amongst the better-disposed of the convicts." It must have been extreme simplicity in the good man to suppose the Government would give a salary to a Superintendent of Schools when not a shilling had been granted for school-room or teacher. Mr. Wilberforce clearly believed that some provision ought to be made for the instruction of the dark tribes not less than for the whites. It was on August 7th, 1792, that he asked the Secretary of State:—"I wish you would send out a few persons with small salaries to take on them the office of schoolmasters. I say *small salaries*, because if you were to fix large ones, improper people would accept the situations."

Governor Hunter, June 20th, 1797, thus spoke of the young folks to the Duke of Portland:—"The vast number of women for whom we have little work are a great weight upon the stores of Government. If we estimate their merits by the charming children with which they have filled the colony, they well deserve our care. But it will become a matter for the consideration of Government whether after the father has withdrawn himself from the service of the public (*having a grant of land*), his children are continued a burden upon the

public store. I have informed several that when they quit the service of Government they must take their family with them. The military have many children, and they are all fed and clothed at the public expense. The pay of a private soldier cannot maintain them, and I cannot see their infants in want." All honour to the kind-hearted Governor! But though he had no reproof for giving rations to the children, he had no authority to provide them with instruction. Somehow or other, during that year, 100 little ones got the rudiments of learning rudely enough in Sydney.

Governor King has the proud distinction of being the first official to take active measures to supply the need, especially in relation to the orphans. On September 9th, 1800, he communicated the fact that he was preparing a house in Sydney for 100 children, and another in Parramatta large enough to receive 200. He had a committee at work collecting funds, and was prepared to adopt other measures to carry on the enterprise.

"From such donations as may be received," said he, "and a regulation duty on the entrance and clearance of vessels, landing articles for sale, privilege of watering at a convenient place for shipping, issuing blank forms for promissory notes of payment among the inhabitants; these with several other regulations of the same kind, and the appropriation of the quit rents, fines and penalties, to the sole use of erecting and maintaining those houses."

The first charges, therefore, upon merchandise were levied by Captain King, for the support of his Female Orphan School. The early records have frequent notices of duties and fines being levied for the benefit of this institution. A benevolent impulse led him officially to report, in August, 1801, concerning "these deserted female orphans, who are rescued from those scenes of prostitution and iniquity that disgrace the major part of the inhabitants of this colony." His heart was with the children, "whose numbers," said

he in March, 1802, "amount to 1007, and finer or more neglected children were not to be met with in any part of the world."

The first Committee appointed for this Orphan movement consisted of—The Rev. Mr. Johnson, the Sydney chaplain ; Dr. Balmain ; the Rev. S. Marsden, of Parramatta ; Mr. John Harris ; Mrs. King, wife of the Governor ; and Mrs. Paterson, wife of Major Paterson. They collected over £500, of which Mr. Johnson got £114. Purchasing the residence of Captain Kent, they named it 'Orphan House.' Extra provision for this institution was made by the Governor, who wrote to the Secretary of State, in August, 1804 :—"I have considered it necessary to locate about 13,000 acres of land for its endowment, which, by being let out in portions, may in a short time produce an increasing fund for the support of that institution."

Early in 1802 one Charles Palmer memorialized Lord Hobart, stating that he was a married man with two children, and a schoolmaster by profession. Anxious to be a teacher, he asked for a free passage to the colony, saying :—"That your petitioner is very desirous, with your Lordship's permission, of becoming a settler in New South Wales." The Downing Street letter of August 29th, 1802, suggests the propriety of the Governor employing the convict priests, Messrs. Harold, Dixon, and O'Neal, and one Abraham Gough, as schoolmasters. They had been recommended for a conditional pardon, and the office of teacher seemed fitting for such men of education.

The first voluntary effort to get up a school was made at Hawkesbury, the leading farming centre of population, where a number of allotments had been granted to emancipists, as well as to a few persons who had arrived, principally as sailors and soldiers, free in the colony. The earliest intimation of this movement we gather from the despatch of August 30th, 1802 :—"The settlers at the Hawkesbury, anxious for the education of their children, of which there

are now in that quarter 216, they have commendably entered into a subscription to build a school-house."

But the Governor was premature in his announcement; for, though a sort of public meeting had been held, and a list prepared of persons contracting to give certain amounts of wheat or cash for the object, neither grain nor money was forthcoming. Rum was much admired on the Hawkesbury, was very expensive, but must be had as a necessity of being; the promised subscriptions, therefore, for the school were absorbed in the demand for high-priced liquor. The good-tempered Captain King took a charitable view of the matter in his letter of August 4th, 1804, saying:—"As the settlers had not the means of conducting a work of that magnitude, I have caused sufficient bricks to be burnt for that purpose, and the building to be erected at the expense of the Crown. This building, which is 100 feet long, and 24 wide, and two lofty floors, is now covering in."

Ten days after, he had a proclamation about this school. Though ready enough to carry out the wishes of the inhabitants, the Governor had no idea of a Free Grant for Education in those days. He would build the room, and place it under trust of two magistrates and six persons elected by the settlers to serve on a committee, but a compulsory payment must be made by the district. It is the first instance of a school-rate in Australia, and that took place long before such a thing was contemplated in England.

"Whereas," says the *Order* of August 10th, 1804, "a subscription was set on foot in August, 1802, by a great part of the settlers and others at Hawkesbury to build a Public School at the Green Hills, and it appearing that *no* subscription was paid, or that any person was inclined to undertake the charge of erecting a suitable building for that purpose; and whereas the Governor has caused a spacious brick building, which will be completed about October next, to be erected at the Green Hills, at the expense of the Crown; and as a great part of the settlers in that quarter having at the

last general muster signed an instrument, engaging themselves and their heirs, &c., for the term of 14 years to pay the annual sum of 2d. per acre for all lands granted by the Crown, and held by them, for the purpose of providing a maintenance for such persons as may be appointed to instruct their children," &c.

In the *Sydney Gazette* of August 19th, 1804, is an advertisement from Mr. Crook of Parramatta, in which it is affirmed that "he undertakes to teach the English language, or to read, write, or speak, with propriety and accuracy." Another advertisement of his, four years after, announces a Boarding School, and names the following subjects taught to the *cornstalks* of the period:—The English tongue, book-keeping, geometry, mensuration, geography, history, and astronomy. Mr. Tull was a schoolmaster in Parramatta from 1797 to 1817. Land reservations for schools were first made at Parramatta, Richmond, Wilberforce, Cook, and Pittwater.

Governor Bligh appears to have taken an interest in the education of youth. Writing on February 7th, 1807, of his many duties, he refers to the work of "regulating schools in the towns, and the watching over the rising generation, and impressing upon their minds by instruction what has been entirely neglected by their parents in moral and Christian duties." Then he mentions:—"Four respectable men are wanted for the benefit of the rising generation; these, also, should be married." It is surely pleasing to have his testimony:—"At present we are doing all in our power to educate the children, having nearly 400 of them under tuition in the different parts of the colony."

#### MORALS.

As no one would expect figs on thistles, so would it be in vain to look for much good morals in Botany Bay. Wholesale denunciations are idle. Some who chose to call the infant

colony by the most opprobrious of epithets, and professed to consider it a hell upon earth, could not help admitting that, on the whole, life and property were at least as safe as in England, that the law was regularly administered, and that out of the very moral chaos order and virtue had emerged. It was forgotten, too, that the materials of this society came from the most Christian of lands.

It is not a little curious that there was far less crime in the very early period, when nearly everybody was in bondage, than appeared after many had gained their freedom, and even subsequent to the arrival of a number of free settlers. Two causes may have caused this difference,—the struggle during the years of famine kept men quiet, while the rapid increase of the means for sale of drink was sufficient to hasten any moral catastrophe.

Governor Phillip was able to report, October 2nd, 1792 :—“I can recollect few crimes during the last three years but what have been committed to procure the necessaries of life.” Men robbed the public stores or each other for bread.

Primitive society is thus depicted by Dr. Lang :—“A general dissolution of morals and a general relaxation of penal discipline were the result of a state of things so outrageously preposterous. Neither marrying nor giving in marriage was thought of in the colony.” And it must be admitted licentiousness could not but follow the evil arrangements made by the Home Government that sent out so few females, even of convicts, and that provided no means for the emigration of free women of a better character, many of whom were then sadly in want of a decent home in Britain.

As Captain Tench pointed out in 1798, no means were adopted on landing to shield the female prisoners from temptation ; and, therefore, as he says, “licentiousness was the unavoidable consequence.” The treatment of the women by the officers and crew on some of the transports on the way out was sufficient to foster and develop the worst possible habits. The Hon. Grey Bennet, M.P., in his published letter

to Lord Sidmouth, distinctly says:—"The greater part of those who are well-looking are taken as prostitutes by the officers of the colony, or by those who have interest with the Government to have the priority of selection." He was not, however, justified in assuming that there "the moral corruption reached a height hitherto unknown in any age or country."

On November 18th, 1796, Governor Hunter wrote to the Duke of Portland:—"I cannot help recurring with concern to the licentiousness and confusion which I have had occasion so frequently to notice." He had sent out a sort of Commission of Enquiry to report to him the social condition of country settlers, and was shocked at the stories brought to him. He notes "a few who are good, some indifferent, and many idle and worthless characters."

Again, June 10th, 1797, he wrote that a "vast variety of debts which were sued for before the last Court of Civil Judicature, held for the purpose of compelling the settlers to be honest and to pay their just debts, has been the complete ruin of many of them. They have been compelled to sell their farms, and throw away their labour for some years past, to enable them to pay debts, most of which had been contracted by drinking spirits at a most exorbitant price, from 30s. to 60s. per gallon." Referring to Sunday, he says, "which it has been long the custom here to neglect and despise, and from which neglect much of our profligacy has originated."

In a despatch of 1798 he alludes to a social chaos, saying:—"When the clergy were allowed to be insulted in the streets without receiving any kind of redress, and rendered incapable of performing the duties of their sacred office on the Sabbath day, from the number of drunken soldiers and convicts surrounding the outside of the place of public worship, and often engaged in card-playing and riot."

Governor King, speaking of his instituting the Orphan School, declared in August, 1801:—"It was the only step

that would ensure some change in the manners of the next generation. God knows this is bad enough." He was more hopeful on March 1st, 1804, writing :—"Not that the morals of the inhabitants are very exemplary, but they are not so generally depraved as may be imagined, nor have I any difficulty in saying that there are some very good characters among them."

Governor Bligh has, in his official report, drawn some dreadful pictures of the drunkenness of the settlers. He even prohibited the landing of spirits, and absolutely stopped the sale of any alcoholic liquor in the Hawkesbury settlement, wherein he beheld such misery, improvidence, vice and want from indulgence in drink. He felt obliged to issue an *Order* on February 14th, 1807, to arrest the evil, saying :—"In order, therefore, to remedy these grievous complaints, and to relieve the inhabitants who have suffered by this traffic, he feels it his duty to put a total stop to this barter in future; and to forbid the exchange of spirits and other liquor as payment for grain, animal food, labour, wearing apparel, or any other commodity whatever, to all descriptions of persons in the colony and its dependencies." And yet he had chronicled some moral progress in his statistics of February 7th, 1807, observing :—"In my late surveys I ascertained the married women were 395, concubines 1035, legitimate children 807, natural children 1025." Such figures, though assuring him that marriages were increasing, tell a mournful tale. In the families, too, where a wife was present, there were two children as an average to each woman, but with those living in a less hallowed way but one child blessed the household. The *Gazette* of October 23rd, 1803, has no pleasant story in connection with a legalized union :—"The man at Balkham hills, who had lately cried down the credit of his wife, did so merely to raise her reputation and enhance her worth, as he was desirous probably of making the best of a bad bargain. He had since converted her into an article of traffic, the net produce upon the sale of which amounted to

six bushels of wheat, and a large black inhabitant of the sty, received in barter from a settler at Hawkesbury."

Men claimed female convicts, newly arrived, as the wives they had left in England; while it was useless to contest the point if the woman, liking the look of the fellow, chose to own the soft impeachment. No objection was offered by the authorities, unless any were desired by a more influential applicant. Dr. Redfern, who arrived in 1802, and after whom a suburb of Sydney is called, notes some stories of this kind. He also says:—"It was no uncommon occurrence for men to sit round a bucket of spirits and drink it with quart-pots, until they were unable to stir from the spot."

Many objected from the first to the herding of criminals together, and that in a place so far removed from the observation or knowledge of the more reputable and benevolent in Britain. In Mr. James Thomson's letter to Lord Hobart, June, 1804, we read:—"The purpose for which the colony was established has stamped a degree of infamy on the country, and I am afraid those who have been engaged in its service have participated in the stigma attached to the name of Botany Bay."

The Rev. Mr. Marsden, who elected to leave his many colonial sheep in the wilderness of a convict settlement while he was on a visit of two years in England, chose to express no hopeful feeling as to his absent charge. In a letter addressed to Mr. Edward Cooke, dated November 21st, 1807, from Norfolk Street, Strand, he wrote:—"In the British colony of New South Wales, it is to be lamented that, since its commencement to the present time, there has scarcely appeared a germ of virtue on which to build a hope for the general character changing for the better." His own place of residence, Parramatta, he described as "a scene of everything immoral and profane. The commanding officer, Captain MacArthur, was no more inclined to countenance a due respect for the Sabbath than the Commander-in-Chief at Sydney. The Lord's Day was generally spent in riot and

dissipation by the settlers, soldiers, and prisoners." This especially refers to the period between the departure of Captain Phillip and the arrival of Captain Hunter, when the colony was under the rule of officers of the New South Wales Corps.

Sydney then was bad enough. Mr. Johnson, the chaplain, was insulted by the very authorities. In a letter of July 5th, 1798, he tells this story :—"A convict and his wife came one morning to my church ; and, on their way home, they met one of the constables. They said they had been there. 'Where?' 'To hear Mr. Johnson.' The constable replied, 'Don't you know you are forbid to go there?' and then threatened to have them punished if they did the like again." No wonder his friend Mr. Marsden remarked, August 11th, 1798 :—"As a clergyman I could not but feel for the people committed to his charge, being persuaded that all attempts to instruct them in the duties of religion would be ineffectual unless the police of the colony was totally changed." Under such circumstances, moral progression could not be expected. Gratefully enough did both ministers recognize the arrival of Captain Hunter, whose influence was exerted at all times in the cause of virtue. As the darkest hour is just before the dawn, so the most gloomy state of morals, closing in the First Twenty Years, ushered in a brighter and purer condition of society.

In spite of some exaggeration of language, the estimate of colonial life, as quoted in *Brewster's Encyclopædia* from a French author, is not far from the mark.

"No subject," said that foreigner, "can be more curious or interesting, both to the soldier and statesman, than the colony of Botany Bay, so long despised in Europe. Never was there a more conspicuous example of the omnipotence of laws and institutions over the character of individuals. To convert the most hardened villains, the most daring robbers, into honest and peaceable citizens, or industrious agriculturists ; then to operate the like revelation in the vilest prostitutes ;

## FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF AUSTRALIA.

nge them by infallible means into faithful wives and  
nt mothers. Next to watch over the rising population,  
serve them by the most assiduous care from the con-  
of their parents, and thus breed up a population more  
is than the race from which it sprang. Such is the  
sive picture which the English colonies present."

was not until after the First Twenty Years that free  
tion set in, that active moral agencies were spread  
in the community, that the press exercised an elevat-  
luence, and that the Government came forth energetic-  
the repression of vice and the support of virtue, and  
ed New Holland or Australia on the same moral plane,  
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THE END.

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